



**THE EXPRESSION OF DIRECTIVE MEANING:  
A CORPUS-BASED STUDY ON THE VARIATION  
BETWEEN INSUBORDINATED *IF*-CLAUSES,  
IMPERATIVES AND CONDITIONALS IN  
CONTEMPORARY SPOKEN BRITISH AND AMERICAN  
ENGLISH**

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“The expression of directive meaning: a corpus-based study on  
the variation between insubordinated *if*-clauses, imperatives and  
conditionals in contemporary spoken British and American English”

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# 1. Introduction

## 1.1. Aims of the study

This dissertation provides a study of the variation between imperatives, conditionals and insubordinated *if*-clauses for the expression of directive meaning in contemporary spoken British and American English, with the aim of determining whether these three clause types serve the same pragmatic functions or, on the contrary, have specialized to convey specific directive categories.

Directive meaning in English is usually associated with imperative clauses (e.g., ‘Turn right to find the street you are looking for’), which can be used for a wide range of directive illocutionary acts, including orders, requests, offers and suggestions. In addition to imperatives, certain types of conditional clauses are also used in contemporary English to code directives in uses in which the conditional meaning of the clause is weakened, if present at all (e.g., ‘If you turn right you will find the street you are looking for’). It is precisely from conditional structures of this kind that another clause-type seems to have emerged for the expression of directive meaning, namely, so-called insubordinated *if*-clauses, exemplified under (1a) and (2a). Such clauses resemble the conditional clauses illustrated in (1b), (2b) and (2c) in that they show the subordinating conditional conjunction *if* in clause-initial position, but are issued as independent structures without a corresponding main clause.

(1)

a. If only you had told me!

b. If only you had told me I would have tried to help you.

(2)

a. If you could help me prepare dinner.

b. If you could help me prepare dinner, I would be grateful.

c. If you could help me prepare dinner, that would be nice.

Clauses of this kind have received little attention in English grammars, where they have been considered either as ‘irregular sentences’ (see Quirk et al. 1985: 842) or as ‘conditional fragments’ (see Huddleston and Pullum et al. 2002: 945). In this dissertation, however, clauses of the type in (1a) and (2a) will be claimed to have undergone a process of insubordination, which is defined by Evans (2007: 367) as “the conventionalized main clause use of what, on *prima facie* grounds, appear to be formally subordinate clauses”. The developmental path suggested by Evans for insubordinated constructions, to which I will refer at greater length in Chapter 3, can be summarized as follows:

- i. the subordinate clause is accompanied by an explicit main clause;
- ii. the main clause is elided but any grammatically compatible main clause can be reconstructed from the context;
- iii. there are certain restrictions on the type of main clauses that can be reconstructed, some of them becoming excluded by convention;
- iv. the original subordinate clause has become reanalyzed as a main clause on its own with an associated conventionalized meaning.

Although insubordinated conditional clauses have been attested and investigated in depth for different languages such as Spanish, Italian or Dutch, they have not received too much attention in the literature on English, with the notable exception of Stirling's (1999) article on Australian and Scottish English. Given that insubordinated *if*-clauses have not been examined in detail in English so far and that Stirling's study is too narrow in scope, this dissertation pays due attention to this clause-type, by providing an exhaustive analysis of insubordinated *if*-clauses in the two reference varieties of English, namely, British and American English, with three main objectives:

- i. to determine if insubordinated *if*-clauses are attested in these two varieties of English and, if so, to compare their frequency, uses and characteristics with the results provided by Stirling;
- ii. to provide a formal characterization of these clauses in English and discuss their grammatical status, taking Evans's (2007) developmental pathway as a point of departure. My study will try to demonstrate that insubordinated *if*-clauses are not cases of prototypical conditional clauses with an elided main clause but have developed into full, independent clauses with a particular meaning associated to them (for example, the expression of regret in the case of (1a) and directive meaning in (2a)). Insubordinated clauses of the latter type will be the core of the third aim of the study;
- iii. to examine the pragmatic functions that insubordinated *if*-clauses may perform in contemporary spoken English, for example the expression of indirection in cases where the use of a

different clause-type with directive force (e.g., imperatives or full conditional clauses of the type shown in (2b) and (2c)) may be regarded as presenting a potential face-threatening act.

## 1.2. Outline of the dissertation

The dissertation is structured as follows. Since insubordinated *if*-clauses seem to have originated in conditional clauses, Chapter 2 focuses on the field of conditionality. Conditional clauses will be characterized both formally and semantically taking the standard grammars of English as a point of reference. The last part of the chapter will be concerned with the distribution of conditional clauses across registers and the discourse functions they perform.

Chapter 3 is devoted to the notion of insubordination. It first introduces Evans's (2007) account of the phenomenon and then discusses the process from the point of view of Discourse Grammar and Thetical Grammar (Kaltenböck et.al. 2011; Heine, Kaltenböck and Kuteva forthcoming). The chapter also offers a review of research on conditional insubordinated constructions in Spanish, Italian and Dutch. The chapter closes with a section devoted to prior research on insubordination in English, with special reference to Stirling's (1999) study, which serves as a convenient link to the corpus study provided in the following chapters.

Chapter 4 presents the corpora which have been selected for the analysis and describes the methodology followed to retrieve the examples. Chapter 5, in turn, offers a grammatical characterization of insubordinated *if*-clauses. The examples retrieved from the corpora are examined in detail in order to test whether they can be said to have become independent

clauses taking into consideration both Evans's stages for the development of insubordinated constructions and the features of theticals proposed by Heine, Kaltenböck and Kuteva (forthcoming). Additional grammatical characteristics of insubordinated *if*-clauses, such as the type of subjects they take and the tense and modality of the verb phrase in the clause, are also discussed in this chapter.

Chapter 6 is devoted to the pragmatic analysis of insubordinated *if*-clauses and to their variation with other clause types with the same illocutionary force, specifically imperative clauses and prototypical conditional clauses. Each type of clause will be assigned their particular illocutionary force and comparisons will be established both as regards variety of English, that is British vs. American, and as regards register, that is formal vs. informal contexts.

Finally, Chapter 7 summarizes the different parts of this piece of research and the main conclusions drawn from the analysis, and suggests further lines for future research.



## 2. The field of conditionality

### 2.1. Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the theoretical background on the field of conditionality and of the different types of conditional constructions that have been identified in English. Conditional constructions, as already noted in the Introduction, seem to have been the source of the structures under investigation in this dissertation. Sections 2.2-3, therefore, are devoted to the formal characterization of conditional constructions proper, as they are described in English reference grammars. Section 2.4 discusses and reviews two other types of clauses, namely, imperatives and conditional fragments, which can also be used in English to express conditionality. Finally, Section 2.5 focuses on the discourse functions of conditional clauses, and their distribution across registers.

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### 2.2. Conditionals as subordinate clauses

Quirk et al. (1985: 987) note that the major devices for the linking of clauses are coordination and subordination. These two devices serve to build up what they label 'multiple sentences', sentences that consist of more than one clause. The major structural types of multiple sentences are the compound and the complex sentence. The compound sentence consists of "two or more coordinated main clauses which provide classic instances

of a paratactic relationship” (1985: 987), that is, they have an equivalent function, as in example (3)<sup>1</sup>.

(3) ***I admire her reasoning but I reject her conclusions.***

In turn, a complex sentence is like a simple sentence in that it consists of only one main clause, but “unlike a simple sentence it has one or more subordinate clauses functioning as an element of the sentence” (Quirk et al. 1985: 987). In other words, the two clauses in a complex sentence are a subordinate clause and a superordinate one, the former functioning as a constituent of the latter which is, therefore, also the main clause. Subordination thus represents an asymmetric type of relationship: the main clause and its subordinate clause or clauses are in a hypotactic relationship, that is, the subordinate clause is a constituent of the sentence as a whole, as in example (4). If a clause is not subordinate to another clause, it is said to be an independent clause.

(4) ***Although I admire her reasoning** I reject her conclusions.*

Nevertheless, a clause may enter into more than one relationship, so that it may be subordinate to one clause and superordinate to another, as in example (5).

(5) He predicted [***that he would discover the tiny particle*** [***when he conducted his next experiment***]].

Here, the subordinate clause [***that he would discover the tiny particle***] is part of the main clause *He predicted* (namely, its object), but is superordinate to

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<sup>1</sup> Unless otherwise stated, examples on this section are taken from Quirk et al. (1985: 987-1096). Where necessary, I have added italics and bold type for emphasis and clarification.



the temporal clause [*when he conducted his next experiment*]. The device of subordination, therefore, enables the construction of a multiple hierarchy of clauses, one within the other, sometimes resulting in extremely involved sentences. Further complexity is provided when subordination and coordination interrelate, in that each main clause may include one or more subordinate clause, and these subordinate clauses may in turn include subordinate clauses, as in (6).

- (6) I think ***that your new position demands sensitive judgments*** and I would hope ***that you will mature as the years go by***.

In (6), two complex clauses, *I think that your new position demands sensitive judgments* and *I would hope that you will mature as the years go by*, both consisting of a main and a subordinate clause, are coordinated by the conjunction *and*, thus forming a compound sentence.

A subordinate clause may function not only as a constituent of a superordinate clause, but also as a constituent within a phrase, for example as a relative clause postmodifying a head noun, as in (7).

- (7) The school ***which my children attend*** is within walking distance.

Here, the relative clause *which my children attend* modifies the head noun *school*, specifying which school is being referred to. Such noun phrases containing a subordinate clause are considered to be complex, but sentences with a complex noun phrase, such as (7), do not count as complex sentences in Quirk et al.'s taxonomy.

Later in the discussion, Quirk et al. (1985: 997) review the formal indicators of subordination. Their typology of possible subordination markers is varied, and includes the following:

1. The clause is initiated by a subordinating conjunction.
2. The clause is initiated by a *wh*-element.
3. Initial elements in the clause are inverted.
4. The presence of certain verb forms in a finite clause is determined by the type of subordinate clause.
5. The verb element of the clause is either nonfinite or absent.

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Since the clauses of interest for the present study, that is, conditional clauses, are introduced by the subordinating conjunction *if*, the only formal signal of subordination to be discussed here is (1) above, the presence of a subordinating conjunction in a finite clause.

The most important formal device of subordination, particularly for finite clauses, is that of subordinators or subordinating conjunctions, the core of the class consisting of a single word (i.e., simple subordinators). However, there is a large range of complex subordinators which function, to different degrees, like a single conjunction. In addition, there is a small class of correlative subordinators, which combine two markers of subordination, one of them being the subordinator proper (Quirk et al. 1985: 998-1000). Selected examples of each of these subtypes of subordination markers are listed below:

- Simple subordinators: *after, although, as, because, before, directly* (informal, especially in British English), *if, immediately* (informal, especially in British English), *lest* (especially in American English), *like* (informal, especially in American English), *once, since, that, though, till, unless, until, when(ever), where(ever), whereas, whereupon, while, whilst* (a minority alternative to *while*, especially in British English).
- Complex subordinators: *but that, in that, in order that, in the event that, such that, assuming (that), considering (that), excepting (that), so (that), according as, as far as, as long as, as soon as, as if, as though, in case, given (that)*, etc.
- Correlative subordinators: *as...so, the...the, whether/if...or, if...then/ in that case*.

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As regards the syntactic functions that subordinate clauses may realize within the larger superordinate structure of which they form part, conventionally we may say that they may function as subject, object, complement or adverbial:

- Subject: *That we need a larger computer* has become obvious.
- Direct object: He doesn't know *whether to send a gift*.
- Indirect object: You can tell *whoever is waiting* that I'll be back in ten minutes.
- Subject complement: One likely result of the postponement is *that the cost of constructing the college will be very much higher*.
- Object complement: I know her *to be reliable*.
- Adverbial: *When you see them*, give them my best wishes.

Furthermore, as is well known, subordinate clauses may also function as constituents integrated within various classes of phrases, for example,

- Noun phrases, where they can serve as either postmodifiers (in the case of relative clauses) or as complements of a head noun: ‘Few of the immigrants retained the customs *that they had brought with them*’; ‘Her suggestion *that we should pay half the costs* was not approved.’
- Prepositional phrases, where subordinate clauses serve as complements of the preposition: ‘(It depends) on *what we decide*.’
- Adjective phrases, where subordinate clauses function as adjectival complements: ‘(We are) happy *to see you*.’

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Subordinate clauses (including conditionals) which function as adverbials in sentence structure are those which are more directly relevant to the present research. English reference grammars generally acknowledge that adverbial subordinate clauses serve functions analogous to those of the kinds of adverbials known as adjuncts or disjuncts, in the terminology of Quirk et al. (1985: 501-503). These differ semantically in that “adjuncts denote circumstances of the situation in the matrix clause, whereas disjuncts comment on the style or form of what is said in the matrix clause or on its content” (Quirk et al. 1985: 1070). Thus (8a) illustrates an adjunct clause introduced by *if*; (8b) a disjunct clause introduced by *unless*; the clauses in (9a) and (9b), involving the subordinators *because* and *since*, exhibit the same contrast.

(8)

- a. They’ll send it to you *if you ask them politely*.

b. I'll get lost *unless I can find my compass*.

(9)

a. He likes them *because they are always helpful*.

b. He likes them, *since they are always helpful*.

As Quirk et al. and other reference grammars of English (e.g., Biber et al. 1999: 818-838, 864-866) point out, the peripheral status of disjunct clauses “is indicated mainly negatively: they do not allow a number of syntactic processes to apply to them that are allowed by adjuncts, processes that reflect a measure of integration within the superordinate clause” (Quirk et al. 1985: 1070). Note, for instance, the different behaviour of (8a) and (8b) with respect to syntactic processes such as clefting, questioning by alternative interrogation, or focusing by focusing subjuncts:

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(a) focusing by clefting:

It is *if you ask them politely* that they'll send it to you.

\*It is *unless I can find my compass* that I'll get lost.

(b) focusing by alternative interrogation:

Will they send it to you *if you ask them politely* or *if you complain to the director*?

\*Will I get lost *unless I can find my compass* or *unless I can find my road map*?

(c) focusing by focusing subjuncts:

They'll send it to you only *if you ask them politely*.

\*I'll get lost only *unless I can find my compass*.

As will be more fully discussed in Section 2.3, conditional clauses in particular most commonly function as adjuncts, as in (8a), but they can also be disjuncts as in, for instance, *If you don't mind my saying so, I don't approve of your behaviour* ('If you don't mind my saying so, I'm telling you that ...').

### 2.3. Conditional clauses

As previously noted, in the Quirkian tradition conditional clauses belong to the class of subordinate adverbial clauses. The clause containing the subordinating marker is conventionally called the protasis, and the matrix clause minus the conditional clause is called the apodosis. Protasis and apodosis together make up a conditional construction, or conditional sentence.

The two simple subordinators for conditional clauses are *if* and *unless*, the former being the most common and versatile. Other conditional subordinators are *as long as*, *so long as*, *assuming (that)*, *given (that)*, *in case*, *in the event that*, *just so (that)*, *on condition (that)*, *provided (that)*, *providing (that)*, *supposing (that)*. All of these subordinators can be used to introduce finite clauses.

- (10) *If you want some more*, you should ask me.
- (11) *Unless the strike has been called off*, there will be no trains tomorrow.
- (12) She may go, *as long as he goes with her*.
- (13) *In case you want me*, I'll be in my office till lunchtime.

By contrast, only *if* and *unless* can also be used to introduce non-finite clauses (mainly *-ed* participle clauses), as in (14) and (15), and verbless clauses, as in (16). With *-ing* clauses they are marginally acceptable.

- (14) The grass will grow more quickly ***if watered regularly***.
- (15) ***Unless otherwise stated***, you should leave by the back exit.
- (16) ***If wet***, the pipe won't give you a good smoke.
- (17) ***If coming by car***, take the A10.

In some verbless conditional clauses, the implied subject is the whole matrix clause itself, or part of it:

- (18) Marion wants me to type the letter ***if possible***. ['if it is possible for me to type the letter']
- (19) I can discuss the matter with you now, ***if necessary***. ['if it is necessary to discuss the matter with you now']

### 2.3.1. Kinds of conditional clauses

Widely used classifications of conditional clauses include the one proposed in Huddleston and Pullum et al. (2002: 738-760), which focuses in particular on the distinction between 'open' (*If Ed is here he can come too*) and 'remote' (*If Ed was here he could come too*) conditional constructions. Also well known is the classification proposed by Quirk et al. (1985: 1091-1097); this, in some respects, is more comprehensive than Huddleston and Pullum et al.'s, and fits better the corpus material to be analyzed in Chapters 5 and 6. It is, therefore, the one chiefly adopted here.

Three main types of conditional construction will be described in what follows, namely, i) direct condition, which can be either open or hypothetical; ii) rhetorical condition; and iii) indirect condition. A fourth type, only marginally related to these three central types, will also be considered in Section 2.3.1.4.

#### 2.3.1.1. Direct conditional clauses

According to Quirk et al. (1985: 1088), a direct condition conveys “that the situation in the matrix clause is directly contingent on that of the conditional clause”; in other words, the truth of the proposition expressed in the matrix clause is a consequence of the fulfillment of the condition in the conditional clause.

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A direct condition may be either an open condition or a hypothetical condition. Open conditions are neutral in that “they leave unresolved the question of the fulfillment or nonfulfillment of the condition, and hence also the truth of the proposition expressed by the matrix clause” (1985: 1091). In Biber et al.’s (1999: 819) words, “the clause does not specify whether the condition is fulfilled or not”, as in (20).

(20) *If Colin is in London*, he is undoubtedly staying at the Hilton.

The sentence leaves unresolved the issue of whether Colin is in London, and hence it is unknown whether he is staying at the Hilton.

Huddleston and Pullum et al. (2002: 739-742) represent the *if*-conditional construction schematically as ‘*If P (then) Q*’, where P stands for the protasis or antecedent, and Q for the apodosis or consequence. They



summarize as follows the components involved in the interpretation of open conditionals:

1. *Invariant meaning*: the truth values of *P* and *Q* are related in a way that excludes the case where *P* is true and *Q* is false. In other words, with reference to example (20) above, if Colin is in London, then he is staying at the Hilton.
2. *Consequence implicature*: in most cases “it is not simply a matter of *Q* being true when *P* is true” (Huddleston and Pullum et al. 2002: 739); the conditional construction usually conveys that *Q* is a consequence of *P*, and very often the relationship is one of cause and effect. There are also cases in which the type of consequence is inference, where the truth of *Q* is seen as following from that of *P*. E.g., *If the key is not in my pocket, I have left it in the door.*
3. *Only-if implicature*: if not *P*, then not *Q*. A conditional generally implies that if the condition is not fulfilled, the matrix situation is not satisfied either; in other words, in the absence of cause there will be no effect.
4. *The don't know implicature*: the speaker doesn't know whether *P* and *Q* are true or false. As many conditionals refer to future time, it will normally be the case that at the time of utterance the speaker cannot know if the condition will be satisfied or not, as can be seen, for instance, in *If she bought it, she got a bargain.* This implicature is related to the issue of informational strength: *if P, then Q* is weaker than *P and Q*, so the weaker version is chosen so that the speaker does not get compromised.

In contrast to the open conditionals just discussed, hypothetical conditionals such as *If he changed his opinions, he'd be a better person*; *They would be here with us if they had the time*; or *If you had listened to me you wouldn't have made so many mistakes* “convey the speaker belief that the condition will not be fulfilled (for future conditionals), is not fulfilled (for present conditions), or was not fulfilled (for past conditions), and hence the probable or certain falsity of the propositions expressed by the matrix clause” (Quirk et al. 1985: 1091). In other words, and with reference to the three examples quoted at the beginning of this paragraph, for future reference, the condition is contrary to expectation; for present reference, it is contrary to assumptions; for past reference it is contrary to the facts. Thus, as Huddleston and Pullum et al. put it, hypothetical conditional constructions entertain “the condition as being satisfied in a world which is potentially different from the actual world” (2002: 748).

The distinction between open and hypothetical conditions is important because, inter alia, it has consequences on the form of the verb phrase, as shown in Table 1.

	Conditional Clause	Matrix Clause
Present and future reference	HYPOTHETICAL PAST <i>If I were younger</i>	PAST MODAL <i>I would study classical greek</i>
Past reference	HYPOTHETICAL PAST PERFECTIVE <i>If I had seen you</i>	PAST PERFECTIVE MODAL <i>I would have invited you home</i>

Table 1: *Verb forms with hypothetical conditions (based on Quirk et al. 1985: 1092)*

As represented in this table, the past tense form is used for present and future time reference and the past perfective form to refer to the past. The general rule for verbs in both clauses of hypothetical conditional clauses may be expressed as follows. The modal verb most commonly employed in the matrix clause is *would*, which is used to express the hypothetical condition, without any other modal implications, as exemplified in (21), (22) and (23) below. It is also possible to find *could*, *might* and *should*, especially replacing *would* in the matrix clause, given that two auxiliaries cannot co-occur, as shown in example (24). When modal auxiliaries are used in hypothetical conditional clauses, they combine with past and past perfective.

- (21) If she tried/were to try harder next time, she **would** pass the examination [Future reference: ‘but I expect she won’t try harder’] 31
- (22) If they were alive, they **would** be moving around. [Present reference: ‘but I assume they are not alive’]
- (23) If they had invited him to the conference, he **would** have attended. [Past reference: ‘but they didn’t invite him’]
- (24) If they **would** help us, we could finish early. [Volitional *would*: ‘would be willing to’]

### 2.3.1.2. Rhetorical conditional clauses

According to Biber et al. (1999: 819), rhetorical conditional clauses give the appearance of expressing an open condition but in fact they “make a strong assertion” (see also Quirk et al. 1985: 1094). Quirk et al. (1985:

1094-1095) distinguish two types of rhetorical *if*-clauses depending on whether the assertion is derived from the conditional clause or from the matrix clause. If the proposition in the matrix clause is absurd, then the proposition in the conditional clause is false:

- (25) *If they're Irish*, I'm the Pope. [since I'm not the Pope, they are certainly not Irish].

If the proposition expressed by the conditional clause is true, then the proposition in the matrix clause is also true. Clauses of this type are used with measure expressions, the *if*-clause being placed finally:

- (26) The painting must be worth a thousand dollars *if it's worth a cent*.  
[the painting must certainly be worth a thousand dollars].

#### 2.3.1.3. Indirect conditional clauses

It was pointed out in Section 2.2 that adverbial clauses, including conditionals, may function as either adjuncts or disjuncts in sentence structure. Indirect conditions, specifically, are “open conditions that are dependent on an implicit speech act of the utterance, and are therefore style disjuncts” (Quirk et al. 1985: 1095). Style disjuncts generally imply a verb of speaking and the subject *I*; they refer to the circumstances of the speech act, and are therefore peripheral to their superordinate clause. Formally, clausal style disjuncts are mainly realized by *if*-clauses. When these occur in this function, the following classes may be distinguished (cf. Quirk et al. 1985: 1095-1096):

- a. The conditional clause is a conventional expression of politeness that makes the speaker's utterance seem dependent on the permission of the hearer:

(27) ***If I may be quite frank with you***, I don't approve of any concessions to ignorance.

- b. The conditional clause is a metalinguistic comment that either suggests that the wording of the utterance is not precise or that it may be misunderstood in a sense not intended by the speaker. It calls for the hearer's agreement:

(28) His style is florid, ***if that's the right word***.

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- c. The conditional clause expresses uncertainty about the extralinguistic knowledge required for a correct interpretation of the utterance:

(29) The war was started by the other side, ***if you remember history lessons***.

- d. The conditional clause expresses the condition under which the speaker produces the utterance:

(30) ***If you're going my way***, I need a lift back. [If you're going my way, will you please give me a lift back?].

#### 2.3.1.4. *If*-clauses as verb complements?

This section discusses a fourth, rather marginal subtype of *if*-clause, illustrated in (31)-(32):

(31) It would be a good idea ***if you hired a bodyguard*** (McCawley 1988: 143, quoted from López-Couso and Méndez-Naya 2014: 88)

(32) Now it would be nice ***if we could write Eq (18.3) as the total mass times some acceleration*** (quoted from Huddleston 1971: 177)

Cases such as these have been briefly discussed by Huddleston (1971: 177-178), McCawley (1988: 143) and, more recently, López-Couso and Méndez-Naya (2014: 88 ff). At first sight, it could be argued that the above structures are extraposed complement clauses analogous to standard *that*-clauses such as, for instance, *It would be a good idea that you hired a bodyguard*. This is essentially the position adopted by López-Couso and Méndez-Naya (2014), who interpret (31) as a declarative complement clause functioning as extraposed subject. The evidence they adduce is both semantic and syntactic in nature:

1. Unlike ordinary conditional clauses, there is no possible reading of (31) in terms of ‘if *P*, (then) *Q*’, since the idea of contingency does not exist.

2. The *if*-clause in (31) pronominalizes in the same way as complements do, as shown in (31b):

(31b) This/That would be a good idea. (López-Couso and Méndez-Naya 2014: 91)

3. The *if*-clause in (31) can be replaced by an unambiguous declarative complement clause, whether finite or nonfinite:

(31c) It would be a good idea ***that you hired a bodyguard / for you to hire a bodyguard.***

López-Couso and Méndez-Naya (2014) acknowledge, however, that not all examples of this type can be unambiguously assigned a complement clause reading. Consider for example (33), also cited in their study (2014: 92), in which the *if*-clause fulfills the criteria they propose for complement clauses but nevertheless allows the paraphrase ‘if *P*, (then) *Q*’.

(33) You would have been very uneasy ***if you had been a week without hearing from me.*** (ARCHER, 1764bswl.x4b)

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They propose, therefore, the recognition of a gradient between conditionals and complement *if*-clauses, as represented in Figure 1.

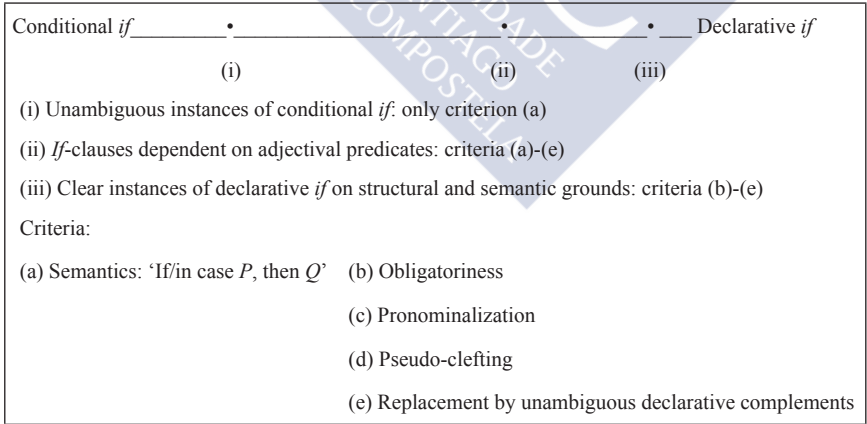


Figure 1: *The continuum between conditional if and declarative if (based on López-Couso and Méndez-Naya 2014: 94)*

Clauses which can only be interpreted as having a reading in terms of ‘if *P*, (then) *Q*’, that is, as having conditional value, would be placed on the left side of the scale. Cases in which the *if*-clause depends on an adjective, such as example (32) above, which fulfills the criteria of pronominalization, pseudoclefting and replacement by a declarative complement but allows also an ‘if *P*, (then) *Q*’ reading, would be at an intermediate point on the scale but placed towards the declarative end. Finally, cases in which the four criteria for complement clauses are fulfilled, as in (31), would represent the declarative end of the gradient.

This analysis, though interesting in many respects, should be contrasted with Huddleston’s earlier analysis (1971) of such clauses. Huddleston argues, in my view quite convincingly, that despite their surface similarity to various kinds of complement clauses, the clauses in (31)-(32) differ from standard complement clauses in the two crucial respects indicated below; they must therefore be interpreted basically as more or less marginal cases of *if*-conditionals.

- a. Firstly, they can occur to the left of the dummy pronoun *it*, a pattern which is out of the question with *that*-clauses (cf. \**that he’s coming it is probable*):

(31d) If you hired a bodyguard ***it*** would be a good idea.

- b. Secondly, when the *if*-clause is topicalized as in (31e), it is replaceable by *that* or *this*, these pro-forms then clearly referring to the content of the *if*-clause:



(31e) If you hired a bodyguard **this** would be a good idea.

To sum up, the structures discussed in this section are interesting in that they testify to the indeterminacy of some conditional structures, an issue to which I will return in Chapters 5 and 6, when I examine insubordinated *if*-clauses. In addition, Chapter 6 will present detailed data on the frequency and uses of apparent *if*-complement clauses, such as those in (31)-(32), in relation to other kinds of patterns also expressing conditionality and directive meaning.

## 2.4. Other ways of conveying conditional meaning

### 2.4.1. Imperative clauses

The prototypical conditional constructions described in Section 2.3 are by no means the only structures used to convey conditional meaning in English. Huddleston and Pullum et al. (2002: 937), for instance, note that when an imperative occurs as the first element in a clause coordination, “it is commonly interpreted as conditional”:

(34) **Do that again** and you’ll regret it.

(35) **Don’t make him the centre of attention** and he gets in a huff.

Example (34) can be understood as ‘If you do that again, you will regret it’, while (35) can be interpreted as ‘If you don’t make him the centre of attention, he gets in a huff’. From the point of view of their form, the second clause in such examples is a declarative and is linked to the imperative

by *and*. The conditional interpretation derives from the implicature of consequence usually conveyed by *and*. As Huddleston and Pullum et al. also point out, in such structures the directive force of the imperative is lost or backgrounded to different degrees. In (34), for example, the whole sentence indirectly conveys ‘If you do that again, you’ll regret it’, and this in turn conveys ‘Don’t do that again’, that is, exactly the opposite of “what would be directly conveyed by the imperative clause standing on its own” (2002: 938).

There are also examples where we find two imperatives in succession, as in (36) below, which conveys the meaning ‘If you join the Navy, you will see the world’.

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(36) *Join the Navy and see the world.*

These examples illustrate a “special case of conditional implicature where the whole coordination has directive force” (Huddleston and Pullum et al. 2002: 1301). Quirk et al. (1985: 931) also comment on this use of *and* as a way of introducing condition, agreeing with Huddleston and Pullum et al. that the first clause is a directive and the second a description of the consequence the directive will have if it is obeyed.

#### 2.4.2. Conditional fragments

Huddleston and Pullum et al. (2002: 945; see also Quirk et al. 1985: 842) draw attention to clause fragments serving as a type of conditional adjunct that “can be used on their own, with the apodosis left unexpressed”, as exemplified below.

- (37) *If only you'd told me earlier!*
- (38) *Well, if it isn't my old friend Malcolm Duce!*
- (39) *If you'd like to move your head a little.*

The construction in (37) with the combination ‘*if only* + modal preterite indicating counterfactuality’, expresses regret; the implied meaning is ‘How unfortunate you didn’t tell me earlier (because if you had done, things would have been better)’. In (38), in turn, the construction involves a fixed frame of the form *if it / that isn't X*, and is used to express surprise at seeing X, so the example can be paraphrased as ‘It is my old friend Malcolm Duce!’. Finally, the example in (39) is a type of indirect directive: ‘Please, move your head a little’ (as said by doctor to patient); a missing apodosis such as for instance ‘that would be helpful’ can be understood.

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Conditional fragments, as will be evident from the introductory chapter, constitute the focus of the present research; they will therefore be discussed at length in the remainder of this dissertation.

## **2.5. Conditional clauses: discourse functions and distribution across registers**

As will become clear in the empirical part of this research (Chapters 5 and 6 below), the use of insubordinated *if*-clauses correlates with certain genres and with certain functions in discourse. This chapter, therefore, closes with an account of the discourse functions served by conditional constructions, since they can be expected to throw light on insubordinated clause usage.

In terms of the distribution of conditional clauses in the written and spoken mediums, Biber et al. (1999: 820-825) find that conditional clauses are most commonly found in conversation, its use being “moderately common” in academic prose. By using clauses of condition, speakers mark those conditions under which what they are saying is true, including both real and unreal conditions. Conditionals are also employed for giving commands or making some sort of suggestion in sentences such as (40), where the decision is to the hearer, or (41), in which the apparent choice is not to be taken literally. As regards their use in academic prose, they serve the function of introducing or developing arguments, as in (42), and also of specifying the conditions under which facts hold, as in (43).

- 40
- (40) You can hold her *if you want*.
  - (41) Well you can stop being a fusspot *if you don't mind*.
  - (42) *If aggression and violence are part and parcel of what it means to be human*, then why is it...?
  - (43) *If light is moving in the direction labeled z in the figure*, it has two distinct possibilities of polarization.

Other important analyses of conditionals in relation to discourse are Ford (1993) and Ford and Thompson (1986). In her important monograph on the use of adverbial clauses in American English conversation, Ford (1993) shows that conditional clauses, when placed in initial position, serve the strategy of presenting options, usually following the logic of a point previously made in the conversation. Even when these options are thought to be unexpected, they are regarded as possibly true during the conversation (1993: 42). She also observes that some of these initial *if*-clauses that present options create a

context of potentially attractive consequences if they actually take place, which leads to their use in persuasive interchanges, as in example (44) below, where A views as positive the option of taking the car with her and tries to persuade B by saying that he/she will be able to use the car when in the city:

(44) A: Maybe if yih come down, I'll take the car.

B: well, u-yihknow I-I don't wanna make any-thing definite. Because I- yihknow I just I just thinking today all day riding on th'trains, hhuh-uh

A: Well, ther's nothing else to do. I was thinking of taking the car anyway. [...] Well if I do take the it, this way *if uh-if-y'know uh there's no parking right away, I can give you the car, an' you can look around a little bit.*

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In an earlier analysis discussing conditional clauses specifically, Ford and Thompson (1986) studied "what types of conditionals occur and how they relate to their discourse contexts" (1986: 354), in order to explain how they are used. As a point of departure, they proceed from Haiman's (1978) idea that conditionals can be thought of as a type of topic:

A conditional clause is (perhaps only hypothetically) a part of the knowledge shared by the speaker and his listener. As such, it constitutes the framework which has been selected for the following discourse. (1978: 583)

In accordance with this view, Ford and Thompson define topics in discourse terms, as "constituting an agreement on the unchallengeability of the information they are conveying, and it is this property that allows them

to serve as framework for the subsequent discourse” (1986: 355). Their findings, and also those of Ford (1993), seem to support Haiman’s view of conditionals as similar to topics, since they are overwhelmingly used in initial position, and thus seem to serve as framework for the interpretation of the propositions which follow them.

Referring now to their results in more detail, through the use of a corpus representing three different genres, namely, essays, professional mechanic procedures (i.e., repairment or safety rules for different devices) and narrative, Ford and Thompson are able to provide evidence on both the functions and positions of conditional clauses in written discourse. As regards conditionals in initial position, the major functions they are found to perform are as follows:

1. To serve as shared knowledge for the following material; this is the case of conditionals which repeat an earlier claim: *X. Assuming X, then Y.*
2. To offer a contrast to something which has gone before: *X. (But) if not X, then Y.*
3. To provide exemplification by introducing a particular case or illustration of a generalization: *Generalization. (For example) if X, then Y.*
4. To open up new possibilities whose consequences are to be explored: *X. If option Y, then Z.* This subtype accounts for more than half of Ford and Thompson’s written data.

Illustrative examples of each function, taken from Ford and Thompson (1986: 356-358), are provided here under (45) to (48).

- (45) **X. Assuming X, then Y.** From the very start of the project friends kidded me about being Nim's 'daddy'. After all, I had no children of my own...*If indeed there was a sense in which I was regarded as Nim's father*, it would really be as paterfamilias of an often unruly family, breadwinner, listener, comforter, and peacemaker.
- (46) **X. (But) if not X, then Y.** There is another intellectual virtue, which is that of generality or impartiality...When, in elementary algebra, you do problems about A, B and C going up a mountain, you have no emotional interest in the gentleman concerned, and you do your best to work out the solution with impersonal correctness. But *if you thought that A was yourself, B your hated rival and C the schoolmaster who set the problem*, your calculations would askew, and you would be sure to find that A was first and C was last.
- (47) **Generalization. (For example) if X, then Y.** Any solution, if it is acid, base, or salt, can be used as an electrolyte if it will act chemically more readily on one electrode than it will on the other. For example, *if electrodes are placed into an orange*, a potential difference will appear between the electrodes.
- (48) **X. If option Y, then Z.** If things are allowed to drift ... there will be an atomic war. In such a war, even if the worst consequences are avoided, Western Europe, including Great Britain, will be virtually exterminated. *If America and the U.S.S.R. survive as organized states*, they will presently fight again.

As regards final conditionals in written discourse, there is a tendency for this position when the conditional occurs embedded within a nominalization, an infinitive, or a relative clause (Ford and Thompson 1986: 359). Illustrative examples are given in (49), (50) and (51).

- (49) Imagine the difficulty of understanding this information ***if it were presented one word at a time.***
- (50) The pressure or blowoff valve...acts as a safety valve to relieve the pressure in the system ***if it should increase above the safe level.***
- (51) Similarly the men who devote their lives to philosophy must consider questions that the general educated public does right to ignore, such as...the characteristics that a language must have ***if it is to be able,*** without falling into nonsense, to say things about itself.

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Another factor that seems to work against a conditional clause appearing in initial position is the tendency “for an interesting subject to be introduced in a nondependent, rather than a dependent, clause” (Ford and Thompson 1986: 360), as is the case with the example in (52) below.

- (52) [Our confused and difficult world needs various things] ***if it is to escape disaster,*** and among these one of the most necessary is that, in the nations which still uphold Liberal beliefs...

The preference in written English is for new noun phrases to be introduced in the main clause rather than in the dependent clause, and this will sometimes need a postponed conditional clause which might otherwise appear in initial position.



Length also seems to warrant a conditional's tendency to migrate to final position. Although not all the final conditionals in Ford and Thompson's corpus were longer than the consequent ones in each case, many were. There is evidence, then, for a tendency "to avoid initial dependent clauses which are disproportionately long with respect to their associated main clauses" (Ford and Thompson 1986: 361), as in (53) below.

- (53) If Lana wanted a piece of apple, she had to press the sequence *please machine give apple*. Lana would not receive any apple [*if* she pressed such incorrect sequences as: *please machine apple give* or *machine please give apple*].

In conclusion, according to Ford and Thompson (1986: 361), written English shows a higher frequency of conditionals in initial position than in final position with respect to the main clause with which they are associated. Conditionals in final position seem to be used when other factors are at work, including considerations such as the incorporation of other clause types, focusing on other elements, and clause length.

Ford and Thompson (1986) also examine spoken data, and their results here show that a large proportion of initial *if*-clauses fall into the same four basic types identified in the written data and referred to earlier: assumption (serving as shared knowledge), contrast to something which has gone before, exemplification of particular cases, and exploration of new possibilities. In addition, Ford and Thompson identify a fifth type of *if*-clause, recurrent in spoken English, which serves an interpersonal function and involves a polite request.

Illustrative examples of the five types are given in (54) to (58), respectively.

- (54) D: Well, didn't you tell me last night at supper that you were disturbed about it [a letter] going out?

M: I'm very much disturbed and... D: Well, that's what I thought.

M: Well, I...

D: You were – *if you were disturbed*, you needn't announce to the Press that- express surprise that we didn't like it.

- (55) B: Do you want to write a letter to the Director of the Budget?

M: No. I won't write any letter. *If I do* I will say I'm opposed to it.

- (56) One point may be worth repeating, that the Fund is always worth the same amount in gold; it always has the same value. *If you start with an eight billion dollar Fund*, it is always worth eight billion. *If currency depreciates*, either by one circumstance or another, or *if there should be a default or liquidation*, a country has to put in more of its currency to make up for the difference. So that money in the fund is always worth the same amount. It is always worth eight billion dollars.

- (57) Well, let me do this, will you? Let me send you a copy of this thing that I had prepared and *if it doesn't make horse sense*, call me back.

- (58) M: *If you could get your table up with your new sketches just as soon as this is over* I would like to see you.

T: All right. Fine.

In terms of percentages, 25 percent of the initial conditionals in Ford and Thompson's spoken data belong to the subtype which ties in with the discourse context by encapsulating or restating an assumption. They attribute the comparatively high frequency of this type to the fact that listeners need to have explicitly stated frames of reference, since it is more difficult to build a background in conversation.

As regards final conditionals in spoken discourse, there is a tendency for conditionals occurring with nominalizations and infinitives to be postponed, as was also the case in written English. Likewise, the tendency observed in written English for length to play a role in the positioning of a conditional clause is also reflected in spoken English in several cases in which final conditionals were notably heavy (Ford and Thompson 1986: 367). Consider the following examples:

- (59) They feel that countries who have the responsibility ought to be subject to some pressure through the Fund -penalty charges which we will indicate later- to force the countries, *if they can*, or to influence the countries, *if they can*.
- (60) Then it would be up to the Congress to determine whether or not they would go in the subsequent bill *if the Attorney General should convince them that he was right and change the language of the bill or appropriate the five hundred and seven million dollars*.

The politeness function served by initial conditionals, as in (58) above, can also be observed with non-initial conditionals. According to Ford and Thompson's data, a large proportion of non-initial conditionals serve the politeness function of showing deference, as in (61) below. In such cases,

the speaker either proposes an action or makes a request in the main clause, whereas the *if*-clause expresses the speaker's respect for, or deference to, the authority of the interlocutor. This encoding of politeness which is so prominent with conditional clauses is also observed in the insubordinated constructions which constitute the focus of this dissertation, as will be discussed in Chapter 6 below.

- (61) I'd like to talk to him about the possibility of his getting a leave of absence from your bank to come with the Treasury, ***if that would be agreeable to you.***

Ford and Thompson's spoken data also yielded a large number of non-initial *if*-clauses associated with main clauses which either make evaluations of, or form questions regarding, the situation expressed in the *if*-clause (1986: 369-370). About a fifth of non-initial conditionals in spoken texts have main clauses expressing an evaluation, and about 5 percent appear in questions, as shown in (62) and (63) below.

- (62) I think it would be better ***if you're there.***

- (63) M: Well, he-the normal would have been, he would have been up there at 10:30.

D: Well, why should he come this morning ***if he hadn't been sitting in on the meeting?*** What-he's not been helping any.

In a somewhat later publication, Ford (1997) addressed her attention specifically to the role of *if*-clauses in conversation and turn taking. She analyzed 13 informal conversations between adult native speakers of American English and was thus able to identify five main functions of *if*-

clauses, namely, i) marking the relevance of a current turn; ii) including new and contrasting understandings; iii) being agreeable; iv) presenting a difficult move as hypothetical; and v) proposing an action to the addressee.

As Ford explains (1997: 390-393), when managing a turn a speaker has three tasks: to respond to the previous context, to make some contribution, and to provide for a turn by another participant. By locating the *if*-clause before the main clause, the speaker is also locating it earlier in a turn, the place for displaying the current turn's relevance to prior talk. *If*-clauses are appropriate for this task given that they do not have a strong basis for the managing of turns since hypotheticality allows one to mitigate the effects of potentially delicate moves, such as the rejection of another participant's contribution.

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In the displaying of a new or alternative assumption, *if*-clauses are useful, given that they refer to the fact that it is precisely a different understanding of, or a contrast to, what has been assumed up to that point, as exemplified in (64) below.

(64) J: he made one big mistake though. He insulted her intelligence.

P: HHH!

J: and she (goes) I can't believe you said that and so

P: okay now, well then ***if he if he puts his own foot in his mouth***

J: Oh oh he did

Ford's results also show that *if*-clauses are used in conversation to "soften disagreeing turns" (1997: 395). There is a tendency to work towards understanding, which is reflected by the fact that disagreeing turns are

generally delayed and introduced later in a turn, thus showing politeness and taking into account the addressee's perspective. *If*-clauses serving this function tend to appear placed after the main clause, as shown in (65).

(65) (...) C: Where can I get one

G: Just use a regular one

C: Mmm. I'd like to get a, high one, *if I could*.

Another way in which the hypotheticality of *if*-clauses seems useful in conversation is when speakers deal with delicate territory in the course of a conversation. By using *if*-clauses, problems are introduced as potential rather than actual, in this way softening face-threatening acts, as seen in example (66) below.

(66) B: So, I'll-I'll probably leave there, at the latest ten, so I'll probably, be there at your place, at the latest midnight.

V: Yeah.

B: Shyoo ... oh Okay, well *if I go to bed*, I'monna leave the door open.

B: Oh okay.

V: Okay? 'Cause I-I usually ago to bed early.

The last function Ford identifies for *if*-clauses in conversation is proposing some action on the part of the hearer. As she explains (1997: 401), directives and offers require special handling in conversation since they involve an imposition on another person's independence and freedom of choice. Directives are sometimes followed by accounts, which warrant

an explanation of them. Conditionals sometimes serve this function in Ford's corpus, as shown in (67), where G uses a conditional to offer an explanation of his directive.

(67) G: Why don't you go put that up, so that it don't get broke any worse.

G: Break the whole insides out, *if you keep wobblin' that barreal around.*

She also notes that conditional clauses can perform offers and other moves to make it clear that the realization of these depends on the addressee's wants, as in (68).

(68) You can come an' sit'n talk with us *if you want.*

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In addition to the various types of conditional clauses commented on in this section, Ford and Thompson (1986) and Ford (1993, 1997) came across a few cases of *if*-clauses which appeared to be not connected to any matrix clause. This is of course the type of structure that I am labelling 'insubordinated', so discussion of Ford and Thompson's (1986) and Ford's (1993, 1997) examples is deferred till Section 3.5.1 in a later chapter.

## 2.6. Summary

This chapter has been devoted to the formal description of conditional clauses as discussed in the standard grammars of English since, as has been pointed out, the insubordinated *if*-clauses which are the concern of this dissertation seem to have emerged from conditionals. We have also briefly considered imperative clauses and conditional fragments, as

these two types of clauses can also be used in English for the expression of conditional meaning. The final part of the chapter has provided an account of the discourse functions of conditional clauses as well as of their differences in distribution across registers.





### 3. Insubordination: theoretical framework and case studies

#### 3.1. Introduction

This chapter reviews the notion of insubordination, the theoretical approach which constitutes the basis for this dissertation. Section 3.2 first presents Evans's account (2007, 2009) of insubordination, and then moves on to the treatment given to insubordination within the context of so-called Discourse Grammar (Kaltenböck, Heine and Kuteva 2011; Heine, Kaltenböck and Kuteva forthcoming). Section 3.4 is devoted to a detailed overview of a number of constructions, from different languages, whose special morphosyntactic and pragmatic features have been accounted for in the relevant literature with reference to the assumptions and principles of insubordination. Finally, Section 3.5 is concerned in particular with the prior research existing to date on English independent and semi-independent *if*-clauses. Studies such as Ford and Thompson (1986) and Stirling (1999) represent the point of departure for the empirical research carried out in Chapters 4-6 of this dissertation.

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#### 3.2. The notion of insubordination

In a by now famous study (2007), Evans drew attention to the widespread occurrence across languages of structures like the following:

(69) English: *If you could just sit here for a while please.*

(70) German: *Ob wir richtig sind?*

Whether we right are

‘[You were wondering] whether we are right’

(69) illustrates a free standing conditional clause seemingly functioning as a request; (70) a free standing German ‘whether’ clause representing some kind of indirect question. To account for such uses, which involve the independent use of constructions otherwise exhibiting clear characteristics of subordinate clauses, Evans proposed the label *insubordination*. He defined this as “the conventionalized main clause use of what, on *prima facie* grounds, appear to be formally subordinate clauses” (Evans 2007: 367). He then went on to provide a typological survey of insubordination and argued that it is widespread among the world’s languages and that it has been a major historical source for a range of grammatical phenomena. In surveying the uses of insubordination cross-linguistically, Evans pursued three main goals (2007: 367-368):

1. To establish the range of formal manifestations of insubordination, for instance the main clause use of infinitives, main clause subjunctives, subordinate word order, characteristic complementizers or conjunctions in apparent main clauses, etc.
2. To establish the range of functions that are served by insubordinated clauses, including:
  - a) Various expressions of interpersonal coercion, including commands, but also permissives, abilitatives, threats, and warnings.

- b) Modal framing of various types, including the unattributed evocation of quotations or beliefs, and other kinds of deontic and evidential use. Here, a main predicate expressing quotation, inference, perception, thought or emotion is omitted.
  - c) Marking of various discourse contexts, such as negation, contrastive statements, and reiteration, all high in presuppositionality, through the adaptation of devices for expressing interclausal relations to the formulation of discourse relations more generally.
3. To examine the diachrony of how the above functions arise through a three-step process of ellipsis, conventionalized restriction of interpretation, and development of conventionalized main clause use.

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In what follows, I consider these three aspects in detail, starting with the historical development of the process, then proceeding to the description of the formal realizations of insubordination, and finally to the functions that insubordination serves.

### **3.2.1. The processes of insubordination and degrammatization**

Insubordinated clauses look like subordinate clauses, because they show prototypical subordinate characteristics, such as the presence of infinitive forms, participial or subjunctive inflections on their verbs, subordinate word order, complementizers and so on. However, as they become reanalyzed as independent constructions over time, those features “will no longer be restricted to subordinate clauses, so that the term subordinate means, at best, ‘having diachronic origins as a subordinate clause’” (Evans

2007: 370). According to Evans (2007), the diachronic formation of insubordinated clauses follows four steps, summarized in Table 2:

(1)	<b>Subordination</b>	<b>Subordinate construction</b>
(2)	Ellipsis	Ellipsis of main clause
(3)	Conventionalized ellipsis	Restriction of interpretation of ellipted material
(4)	Reanalysis as main clause structure	Conventionalized main clause use of formally subordinate clause (Constructionalization)

Table 2: *Stages of insubordination (based on Evans 2007: 370)*

(1) **Full construction with overt main clause**

This stage represents the normal situation where a subordinate clause is used as such in combination with a main clause, as in (71) below from German.

(71) *Ich erinner-e mich nicht, ob sie eine Karte gekauft hatte*

I don't remember whether she bought a ticket.

(2) **Ellipsis of main clause**

At this stage, the main clause is elided; any grammatically compatible main clause can easily be reconstructed by the hearer, as in (72) below from German.

(72) [*Ich zweifel-e*] *Ob wir richtig sind?*

[I doubt / you were wondering] whether we are right.

The construction is consistent with a varied range of ‘restored’ material, so that conversational inference is what determines exactly which main clause is restored. When there are significant restrictions on the possible ellipted clauses, as a result of the conventionalized use of the elliptical construction, then we move to the next stage.

### (3) Conventionalization of ellipsis

At this stage, certain syntactically permitted reconstructions become excluded by convention. For instance, insubordinated *wenn*-clauses in German are compatible with a range of restored elliptical material, but they have to involve positive rather than negative evaluation – for instance, wishful thinking as in (73):

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(73)

- a. [*Es wäre schön*], ***Wenn ich deine Statur hätte.***  
‘[It would be lovely] if I had your build’
- b. \* [*Es wäre schlimm*], ***Wenn ich deine Statur hätte.***  
\*‘[It would be bad] if I had your build’

The same restriction applies to the English example in (74), where the restoration is limited to a positive rather than a negative consequence in the *if*-clause presenting an offer.

(74)

- a. ***If you would maybe like to wash your hands*** [you can do it here]
- b. ***If you would maybe like to wash your hands*** [\*you cannot do it]

#### (4) **Conventionalization of the whole construction** **(Constructionalization)**

At this stage the construction has a specific meaning of its own, and it is not possible to restore any ellipted material. Consider in this respect the case of (75) in Spanish with the meaning of a complaint:

(75) *¡Si me había dicho que venía!*

The four-stage pathway proposed by Evans first opens up the role of pragmatics, by presenting different interpretations for a given clause, then closes it, by ‘assigning’ a particular meaning to it. In Evans’s words (2007: 374-375):

first a previously syntacticized subordinate clause, made independent, becomes available for pragmatic interpretation; in this phase grammatical formatives get opened up to the pragmatics and become less grammatical. Only in the second phase does depragmaticization occur, as the newly independent clause acquires a more specific constructional meaning.

The process of insubordination is naturally of great interest for theories of historical morphosyntax. The by now abundant literature on grammaticalization and reanalysis has concentrated on diachronic developments leading in the opposite direction, that is, on the development of subordinate constructions from main clause material. It has often been asserted that there is a unidirectional pathway from pragmatics to syntax to morphology, one consequence of which is that loose paratactic pragmatic constructions become syntacticized as subordinate clauses. Wherever

insubordination is situated, it clearly goes against the usual direction of change by recruiting main clause structures from subordinate clauses. We may recall here that, as Heine et al. note:

[Grammaticalization] leads from a 'less grammatical' to a 'more grammatical' unit, but not vice versa. A few counterexamples have been cited [...] They concern either degrammaticalization or regrammaticalization [...]. The former is present when the direction of grammaticalization is reversed, that is, when a more grammatical unit develops a less grammatical one, while the latter applies when forms without any function acquire a grammatical function. Although both degrammaticalization and regrammaticalization have been observed to occur, they are statistically insignificant [...]. Note that many cases of alleged degrammaticalization found in the literature on this subject can be shown to be the result of inadequate analysis. (Heine et al. 1991: 4-5)

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Discussions on reanalysis have accepted, however, that developments from subordinate to main clause status are possible:

Virtually nothing is exceptionless and there are of course instances of change in languages that are counterexamples of tendencies that can be characterized as 'less>more grammatical', 'main clause>subordinate clause', etc. [...] It is likely that all these examples are strictly speaking actually not cases of grammaticalization (although once they have occurred they may be subject to the generalization, reduction, loss, and other changes of grammaticalization). Rather [...] [they] can be regarded as instances of reanalysis. (Traugott and Heine 1991: 6-7)

Insubordination, therefore, seems to be a process of degrammaticalization, “a composite change whereby a gram in a specific context gains in autonomy or substance on more than one linguistic level (semantics, morphology, syntax, or phonology)” (Norde 2009: 120).

As Evans states, the importance of insubordination lies precisely in the unusual direction of this diachronic change, “from subordinate clause to main clause, from morphosyntax to discourse, and (in its initial stage) from grammar to pragmatics” (2007: 429). Each of these steps somehow goes against the prevailing direction in which diachronic developments are supposed to occur.

60 Yet a second problem that insubordination poses for grammatical description is that, as the reanalysis of former subordinate clauses into main clauses occurs, at least some of their morphosyntactic features are no longer enough in order to identify a clause as being subordinate to another. In the second stage of insubordination, this problem can be saved by considering that the ellipted main clause of the subordinate clause can be restored for analytical purposes. At the third stage, although this restoration may still be possible, it would imply ignoring the increased semantic specificity now associated with the subordinate clause and also the fact that certain possible restored meanings are never found with the insubordinated construction in question. By the final stage, these insubordinated clauses have been so conventionalized as main clauses that, in Evans’s (2007: 431) words, “the generalizations gained by drawing parallels with subordinate structures are outweighed by the artificiality of not including them in the muster of main clause types.”



### **3.2.2. Formal realizations of insubordination**

Since insubordination is defined by Evans as the conventionalized main clause use of a formally subordinate clause, the qualification ‘formally subordinate’ can refer to any formal feature associated with subordinate clauses, such as non-finite verb forms, subordinating conjunctions and complementizers, or special word order normally associated with subordinate clauses. Naturally, the more an insubordinated clause allows independent use, the less its formal features can be taken as uniquely distinctive of subordinate clauses. This means, therefore, that as Evans notes, “arguments of the form ‘clause type X is subordinate because it has formal features of Y which are characteristic of subordinate clauses’ will be circular” (2007: 377).

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All the cases of insubordination discussed by Evans in his 2007 article are treated as subordinate in their morphosyntax in the relevant literature, and discussed in the respective sections on subordination as special cases. In defense of this position there are two different arguments. First, it can be demonstrated by means of comparative or historical evidence that the construction in question originated as a subordinate clause. Second, the status of subordinate or main clause is typically demonstrated through a series of tests, not all of which may yield a positive result in the case of insubordinated clauses. The qualification ‘main clause use’ in Evans’s definition of insubordination quoted in Section 3.2 allows for the fact that there will be language-specific arguments for treating the construction as a main clause, and indeed the process of insubordination may have been so far-reaching that, synchronically, they have full main clause status.

As regards the formal characteristics normally associated with subordinate clauses in the relevant language, for which insubordinated uses have been reported, they include the following (Evans 2007: 379-386):

### a. Special subordinate verb forms

These are forms such as the subjunctive in the Italian example in (76), which is typically used in subordinate clauses whereas main clauses show verbs in the indicative form.

(76) *Che venga domani*

‘(It is possible/likely/I hope/believe etc.) that he’ll come tomorrow.’

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### b. Subordinating conjunctions and complementizers

Examples are the use of the words equivalent to ‘if’ employed for polite requests in French (77), English (78)-(79), and Dutch (80):

(77) *Si on allait promener?*

‘What if we went for a walk?’

(78)

a. (I wonder) *if you could give me a couple of 39c stamps please.*

b. *If you could give me a couple of 39c stamps please*, (I’d be most grateful).

(79) (A milkman’s sheet about Xmas deliveries) *If you would kindly indicate in the boxes below your requirements* and then hand the

complete form back to your Roundsman by no later than the 16<sup>th</sup> December 1995.

- (80) *Hans of je even naar Edith zou lopen*

‘Hans, would you just go to Edith?’

### c. Logophoric pronouns and long-distance reflexives

These are normally confined to subordinate clauses, but in some languages they may be used independently in order to signal reported speech or thought. Consider in this respect (81) from Ewe and (82) from Tuburi. In the case of (81), we find the canonical use of a logophoric pronoun, that is, in a subordinate clause and placed next to the verb; in the case of (82) the reflexive pronoun is used in a main clause separate from the verb that introduced it to quote indirect speech, acting as a sort of inverted commas.

- (81) *Kofi be yé-dzo*

Kofi say LOG-leave

‘Kofi said that he left’

- (82) *sa:ra dús so*

LOG disperse then

‘Then they dispersed’

#### d. Special subordinate word order

Insubordinated clauses may also exhibit special subordinate word order. An example of this is the German use of the verb-final subordinate word order when repeating a question, but with the main clause *ich sagte* or *ich fragte* omitted.

(83) Aber wo komm-st du denn jetzt her?

‘But where are you coming from?’

Wie bitte?

‘What’s that?’

***Wo du jetzt herkomm-st?***

‘(I asked) Where you’re coming from (?)’

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#### e. Combinations of subordinate features

Example (84) below shows the combination of a conjunction and verb-final subordinate word order in German illustrating the fact that insubordinated clauses may also show signs of more than one feature characteristic of subordination.

(84) ***Ob er krank ist?***

‘(You’re asking/wondering/ I wonder) whether he is sick?’

Evans (2007: 384-386) excludes from his analysis of insubordination cases of clause union which end up including elements of a former subordinate clause in addition to elements of a former main clause, for example,

English sentences of the type *What if it rains?* (from an underlying biclausal structure *What happens if it rains?*, according to Quirk et al. 1985: 840-841). Although there is some functional overlap between clause union and insubordination, there is crucial formal evidence in favor of not considering clause union as insubordination. Clause union condenses a main and a subordinate clause and retains semantic elements of both. In cases of insubordination, on the other hand, only material from the subordinate clause is overtly expressed. The missing material is merely signaled by the presence of subordinate morphosyntactic features and must be restored inferentially.

Evans concludes his overview of the formal manifestations of insubordination by stressing that he only includes cases where there is formal evidence for subordination, whether synchronically or diachronically. The main reason for doing so is that, in some constructions (consider, for instance, the directive *if*-clauses in this study) it is not clear to what extent insubordination has become conventionalized. In Evans's words (2007: 386),

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There exists a continuum from subordinate clauses only used as such, to free-standing subordinate clauses for which an ellipted main clause can be readily supplied, to insubordinated clauses which can be supplied with main clauses though it sounds somewhat unnatural or pedantic, to insubordinated clauses which have become so conventionalized that they are felt to be quite complete in themselves. Once this last point has been reached, there may be disagreement among analysts as to whether 'insubordinated' clauses should be treated as deriving from subordinate at all, since

an alternative analysis in which they are just another main clause type becomes more plausible.

### **3.2.3. Functions of insubordination**

Evans (2007: 386 ff) closes his survey of insubordination with a discussion of the range of functions insubordination serves in a variety of languages. Those functions particularly relevant to the present research include especially the following.

#### **a. Indirection and interpersonal control**

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The most common type of insubordination across languages is found in various types of clause concerned with interpersonal control, primarily imperatives and their milder forms, such as hints and requests, but also permissives, warnings and threats. All such clauses are face-threatening acts (Brown and Levinson 1987), and insubordinating ellipsis has the effect of putting the face-threatening act off the record. In fact, as Evans notes (2007: 387), Brown and Levinson (1987: 227) explicitly include the strategy 'be incomplete, use ellipsis' in their section on the ways of politely handling Face Threatening Acts (FTAs):

Elliptical utterances are legitimated by various conversational contexts - in answers to questions, for example. But they are also warranted by FTAs. By leaving an FTA half undone, S(peaker) can leave the implication 'hanging in the air,' just as with rhetorical questions.

Insubordinated clauses of this type tend to take the form of complements of request, desire, or possibility predications; purpose clauses with the implication ‘I say this (in order that X)’, and conditional clauses with an implicit ‘It would be nice’, etc.

In what follows, the different forms this type of insubordination may take are discussed, namely, ellipted predicates of desire, ellipted enabling predicates, ellipted result clauses, free standing infinitives and warnings and admonitions.

### i. Ellipted predicates of desire

An example of this type of insubordination is found in the independent subjunctive in Latin; (85b) is usually described in the literature as a paraphrase of (85a).

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(85)

a. ***Imper-o /vol-o ut ven-ias***

‘I order/I want you to come’

b. ***Ven-ias***

‘Come!/May you come!’

The syntactic relationship between (85a) and (85b) is confirmed by the selection of negator: predicates of command or desire select *ne*, as in (86a), rather than *non*, which is a common negator with Latin clauses depending on other types of predicates (for instance possibility). The selection of *ne*

as a negator is carried over into the corresponding insubordinated clause (86b).

(86)

a. *Imper-o/vol-o ut ne ven-ias*

‘I order/ I want you not to come’

b. *Ne ven-ias*

‘Don’t come/ May you not come!’

**ii. Ellipted enabling predicate**

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A widespread type of insubordination found in polite requests is the independent *if*-clause, already exemplified above for French (77), English (78-79) and Dutch (80). The more such insubordinated *if*-clauses become conventionalized, the less speakers are sure of exactly what has been ellipted. When Evans asked English speakers to supply a main clause for a construction like *If you could give me a 39c stamp*, the answers split between two alternatives corresponding to the conditional and question-embedding uses of English *if*: ‘I wonder if...’ and ‘If...it would be good’ (cf. example (79) above).

Although the most common function of insubordinated conditionals is to express polite requests, they may be used with other conventionalized meanings, such as expressing disagreement, as in the Spanish example in (87) below, which will be dealt with in Section 3.4.1 below. The link from conditionality to disagreement seems to be via an ellipted main clause



which in this example is along the lines of ‘if it’s horrible, how can you say it’s great?’

(87) (Sisters Q and R are looking at clothes in a shop window)

Q: A mira qué chaqueta más chula

R: *Si es horrible*

### iii. Ellipted result clauses

Another common way of producing requests is through the omission of main clauses that state a consequence or result, leaving explicit only a reason clause or a clause providing background, as in the example in (88) from Japanese.

(88) *Boku wa ik-u kara*

I TOP go-PRS because

‘Since I am going, [please don’t worry/etc.]’

‘Since I am going, [the problem will be solved/etc.]’

### iv. Free-standing infinitives

Requests expressed by means of a free-standing infinitive are extremely widespread, with examples from German, as in (89), being numerous.

(89) *Bei-m Eintritt tief verneig-en!*

‘(To) bow low on entering!’

## v. Warnings and admonitions

Warnings, admonitions and threats are other interpersonal coercions expressed by means of insubordinated clauses. In many different languages they are expressed by using independent subordinate clauses of purpose or negative purpose, leaving out the consequences that need to be avoided, as in the Polish example in (90).

(90) *Zeby-‘s                    sie tylko nie wywroci-l-a*

In.order.that-you REFL only not faal-PST-F

‘Make sure you don’t fall’

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*If*-clauses also serve to issue threats and warnings, as in (91); they are normally used with a different intonation and often include elements such as *dare*, which distinguishes them from requests. As will be seen later in Chapter 5, the corpus study for this dissertation did not yield any examples of *if*-clauses with this meaning.

(91) *If you (dare) touch my car!*

As a final remark, Evans recognizes that considering insubordinated requests as softeners of the strong interpersonal control of imperatives may sometimes be problematic. First, in some languages insubordinated requests are actually more imperious than commands (cf. the independent subjunctive in French). Second, insubordination may remove some markers of politeness (e.g., *kudasai* ‘please’ in Japanese). What Evans considers more probable is that the nature of requests and commands as face-threatening “places strong pressures on the language system to come

up with new variants whose pragmatic force is freed from the history of existing formulas, and that insubordination provides one fertile source for this, but that the actual pragmatic value of insubordinated clauses need not be more ‘polite’ than a more direct form” (2007: 393-394).

## **b. Modal insubordination**

Evans identifies as another widespread use of insubordination the expression of modal meaning, both epistemic, that is, related to belief or knowledge about the proposition, and deontic, which concerns actions to bring about the state of affairs expressed by the proposition. Both types of meanings are expressed by insubordinated clauses, although there are significant differences in their source constructions: on the one hand, epistemic insubordination involves markers of subordinate status such as ellipted main clauses of reporting, thinking or asserting; on the other hand, deontic insubordination involves “complementizers with additional semantic content such as showing tense/mood relations between clauses” (Evans 2007: 394).

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## **i. Epistemic and evidential meanings**

The most common type of evidentializing insubordination involves the representation of indirect speech by an independent subordinate form. Clauses of the type shown in (92), in Estonian, originated as subordinate clauses embedded in speech act verbs. The original ‘modus obliquus’ construction from which it originates was an innovation that took place at a stage where this construction was exclusively subordinate and

had not expanded to main clause use, and whose evolution involved a reinterpretation of participles as finite verbs implying a change in the subject case marking, from genitive to nominative.

- (92) *Ta-t ege-vat too-d*  
he.NOM do-PRS.INDIR. work-PARTV  
'They say he is working'

## ii. Deontic meanings

Some languages use insubordinated clauses to express various deontic meanings, such as the Italian subjunctive with hortative meaning in (93).

- (93) *Si aggiunga poi che l'uomo è pedante*  
'And then may it be added that the man is a pedant.'

## iii. Exclamation and evaluation

In English, insubordinated *that*-clauses can be used to express evaluation, with reconstructable main clauses along the lines of 'I am amazed/shocked!'. Quirk et al. (1985: 841; cf. also Huddleston and Pullum et al. 2002: 944-945) observe that although they show an omitted matrix clause, they are "mimetic of speechless amazement". Consider examples (94) and (95) below, taken from Quirk et al. (1985: 841).

- (94) *That he should have left without asking me!*  
(95) *That I should live to see such ingratitude!*

Similar insubordinated uses are found in English in clauses of the type in (96) and also in insubordinated clauses with a main clause infinitive used to express surprise, such as (97) below.

(96) *How they can bet on a bloody dog like that!* (Quirk et al. 1985: 841)

(97) *To think that I was once a millionaire!* (Quirk et al. 1985: 841)

### c. Signalling presupposed material

Insubordinated clauses may also signal high levels of presupposed material in the insubordinated proposition by giving relatively specific presuppositions about the context in which the sentence can occur. Evans gives specific examples of this type of insubordination, such as negation, focus constructions, discourse contrast, stipulated conditions before assenting to preceding assertions in interaction (cf. Ford and Thompson 1986 referred to in Chapter 2), reiterations, and disagreement with assertions by the previous speakers.

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### 3.3. Insubordination from the perspective of Discourse Grammar

Evans's insightful discussion of insubordination has made possible the analysis of a number of constructions in different languages which previously had only been poorly understood; some of these will be addressed in Sections 3.4 and 3.5 below. In addition, the notion of insubordination itself has been incorporated by Heine, Kuteva and Kaltenböck into the approach to grammar and discourse analysis that they have been developing, under

the label *Discourse Grammar*, since about 2010. An overview of this is provided in this section.

### 3.3.1. An overview of Discourse Grammar

In several important papers (most notably Kaltenböck et al. 2011; Heine, Kaltenböck and Kuteva forthcoming), Heine, Kaltenböck and Kuteva have proposed a theory of grammar and discourse analysis named Discourse Grammar and based, ultimately, in a functional conception of language and grammar as consisting of several ‘layers’ of grammatical organization capable of reflecting both the ‘representational’ (Bühler 1934) and interpersonal (Halliday 1970a, 1970b) functions of language (for earlier proposals along the same lines see, among many others, Hengeveld 1989, Dik 1997).

Essentially, Discourse Grammar, as understood by Heine, Kaltenböck and Kuteva, “is composed of all the linguistic resources that are available for constructing spoken or written texts” (Kaltenböck et al.: 854). The architecture of Discourse Grammar, as reflected in Figure 2 from Heine, Kaltenböck and Kuteva (forthcoming), consists of two different domains of organization, namely, *Sentence Grammar* (SG) and *Thetical Grammar* (TG).

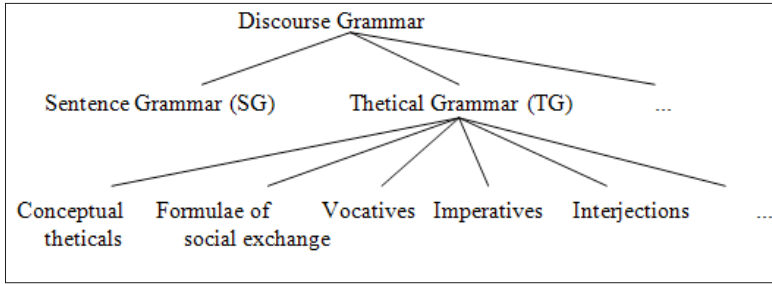


Figure 2. A sketch of the architecture of Discourse Grammar

Beginning with SG, this is structured in terms of parts of speech or constituent types such as sentences, clauses, phrases, words and morphemes, and also the syntactic and morphological devices that constituents need to relate to one another. TG, on the other hand, consists of a set of theticals; these comprise not only various kinds of formulae and constructions but also the capability to design new theticals and to dispose them for structuring discourse. So far, the following categories of theticals have been distinguished:

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Categories of theticals (based on Heine et al. 2013)

- a. *He was a man who, **unaccountably**, had few friends.*

Conceptual thetical

- b. ***Good morning!***

Formula of social exchange

- c. *Today's topic, **ladies and gentlemen**, is astrophysics.*

Vocative

- d. **Hold on**, are we late?

Imperative

- f. **Damn**, we've missed the bus.

Interjection

Theticals have been referred to and defined in many different ways: parentheticals (Corum 1975), disjuncts (Espinal 1991), extra-clausal constituents (Dik 1997), supplements (Huddleston and Pullum et al. 2002), etc., but most authors converge on calling them parentheticals and seem to agree on considering them as a 'non-syntactic' phenomenon, that is, they are not regarded as being constituents in sentence structure. The prototypical defining properties of theticals are listed below, following Kaltenböck et al. (2011: 857):

- a. They are syntactically independent, that is, unintegrated.
- b. They are typically set off prosodically from the rest of the utterance.
- c. Their meaning is non-restrictive.
- d. They tend to be positionally mobile.
- e. Their internal structure is built on principles of SG but can be elliptic.

The following constructed examples provided by Kaltenböck (2007), repeated here as (98), serve to illustrate the nature of theticals. As Kaltenböck explains, according to feature (a) above *don't forget* is syntactically independent because the syntax of the utterance *Mary is*



*coming over to visit* does not license it. It has an intonation of its own, as is typically reflected in writing with punctuation marks, namely, a pause that separates it from the rest of the utterance (cf. feature b). As its meaning is not part of the sentence meaning, it is non-restrictive (feature c). It has the shape of a clause but appears to be elliptic in some way in that the verb *forget* is transitive but occurs without a complement (feature e). As for feature (d), examples (98a) to (98c) show that the thetical is positionally mobile, and as shown in (98d) it can occur on its own.

(98) From Heine, Kaltenböck and Kuteva (forthcoming); cf. also Kaltenböck (2007: 40)

- a. *Mary -- **don't forget** -- is coming over to visit.*
- b. ***Don't forget** -- Mary is coming over to visit.*
- c. *Mary is coming over to visit -- **don't forget**.*
- d. ***Don't forget!***

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The semantic and pragmatic scope of theticals extends beyond the clause and is shaped by the entire situation of discourse (Kaltenböck et al. 2011: 865; Heine et al. 2013). The exact nature of this situation can be described with reference to a network of interconnected components: (a) text organization, whose function is to set together larger segments of discourse; (b) source of information, used to overcome constraints imposed by linearization in structuring texts; (c) attitudes of the speaker, which situate the text in a wider perspective by, for instance, providing some supplementary information; (d) speaker-hearer interaction, whose function is to describe the subjective state of the speaker; (e) discourse

setting, used to interact with the hearer/reader and (f) world knowledge (Kaltenböck et al. 2011: 865; Heine, Kaltenböck and Kuteva forthcoming).

According to Kaltenböck et al. (2011: 857) and Heine, Kaltenböck and Kuteva (forthcoming), insubordinated clauses conform to the defining properties listed above for theticals: they occur without a host utterance, consider in this respect the insubordinated clauses illustrated in (99a) and (99b) which are independent from their context both syntactically and prosodically and can be used anywhere in discourse. In accordance with feature (e), their internal structure conforms to principles of Sentence Grammar (SG), but also in accordance with this feature, given that insubordinated clauses have the form and structure of a subordinate clause, a matrix clause would be expected, but since this is not the case they are somehow ‘elliptic’. As Heine, Kaltenböck and Kuteva explain, this is not a problem for analyzing these clauses in terms of theticals, but rather supports such an analysis, since “theticals (or parentheticals) are discourse-specific information units that have been co-opted from Sentence Grammar and in such units, constituents whose meaning is recoverable from the situation of discourse tend to be omitted” (Heine, Kaltenböck and Kuteva forthcoming).

(99) (Evans 2009; 2007: 404)

a. *That I should live to see such ingratitude!*

b. *If you could just sit here for a while, please.*

### **3.3.2. The notion of Cooptation**

As explained by Kaltenböck et al. (2011: 874-5) cooptation is an operation through which a part of SG, namely, a clause, a phrase, or any other unit, is used as a thetical. It is the situation of discourse which determines its functions, which can be any of the following:

- a. Text organization
- b. Source of information
- c. Attitudes of the speaker
- d. Speaker-hearer interaction
- e. Discourse setting
- f. World knowledge (Kaltenböck et al. 2011: 861)

When a unit is coopted from SG to TG, it is freed from its constraints as a syntactic constituent; in other words, its meaning is now redefined by its new 'environment' rather than in reference to its syntactic function. This redefinition implies a number of changes, both at the syntactic and semantic levels. Firstly, given that the unit is now not restricted to any requirements of its former syntactic function, obligatory constituents may no longer be needed because they can be inferred from the situation of discourse. Second, the unit now responds to its new 'environment' and relates to components such as text organization, speaker-hearer interaction, and speaker attitudes. And finally, given that more than one of these components may be displayed simultaneously in a given context, the meaning of this unit is likely to become more complex.

Coopted units have the properties of theticals listed in the definition in Section 3.3.1. Cooptation is a fully productive operation that can be characterized as follows (taken from Heine, Kaltenböck and Kuteva forthcoming; also in Kaltenböck et al. 2011: 879).

Features characterizing cooptation:

- a. It is an instantaneous operation leading to the transfer of a unit of SG to the domain of TG.
- b. The result is an information unit that is syntactically, prosodically and semantically autonomous, i.e., one that corresponds to the definition of thetical categories in Section 3.3.1. above.
- c. The meaning of the unit is shaped by its function in discourse. This entails a widening of its semantic-pragmatic scope, where widening is not restricted to the text concerned but can as well encompass the entire situation of discourse.
- d. Having been coopted, the unit is freed from constraints of SG, it may have the appearance of an elliptic piece compared to the corresponding structure of SG.
- e. But even when coopted as an 'elliptic' piece, the unit may inherit valency features, although such features may no longer relate to a clause or sentence but rather to larger pieces of discourse or to the discourse situation in general.

With respect to insubordinated clauses, Heine, Kaltenböck and Kuteva point out that cooptation can be reconstructed. Consider example (100) where the SG unit shown in (100a) or (100b) would give rise to the

thetical insubordinated clause in (100c) in which the coopted unit is a subordinate clause and the meaning of its matrix clause is said to be implied although not overtly expressed. The exact form of the unit that provided the source for (100c) is no longer accessible so both reconstructions are hypothetical. What is important for the analysis of insubordinated clauses from the perspective of theticals is first, the fact that (100c) derives historically via cooptation from a conditional construction of the form subordinate clause - matrix clause and, second, that only the subordinate conditional protasis clause is affected by the operation of cooptation.

(100) (Evans 2007: 380)

- a. I wonder [*if you could give me a couple of 39c stamps please*].
- b. [*If you could give me a couple of 39c stamps please*] I'd be most grateful.
- c. *If you could give me a couple of 39c stamps please.*

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Since the insubordinated clause in (100c) is 'elliptic' compared to its SG source in (100a) or (100b), the question that arises is at which stage 'ellipsis' took place: before, during, or after cooptation? While this issue requires further research (as recognized by Heine, Kaltenböck and Kuteva forthcoming), the current hypothesis is that cooptation is co-extensive with the transfer of the subordinate clause *plus* an implied but unexpressed main clause.

This process of cooptation through which a unit shifts from the level of syntax to the situation of discourse seems to be reconcilable with Evans's analysis (2007: 370, see also Section 3.2.1 of this dissertation), in which

the presence of insubordinated clauses is interpreted as a repositioning of linkages moving from intra-clausal to general discourse links. Cooptation leads to the rise of theticals, and theticals have been defined as syntactically, prosodically and semantically independent constituents (see Section 3.3.1 above) whose semantic-pragmatic scope is not restricted to the sentence or some constituent of it but rather relates to the situation of discourse.

As explained by Heine, Kaltenböck and Kuteva (forthcoming) there is no restriction on the range of subordination types, namely, complement, relative or adverbial, which may lead to the rise of insubordinated clauses through the operation of Cooptation. Rather, this may affect virtually any kind of dependent clause structure, such as infinitival or participial structures, as Evans had already pointed out (2007).

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Heine, Kaltenböck and Kuteva also recognize that there is one specific feature that makes insubordinated clauses different from other kinds of theticals, namely, the fact that whereas the latter frequently take or need some other utterance as an anchor, insubordinated clauses typically stand alone. Although this may lead to them not being considered as belonging to the class of theticals, Heine, Kaltenböck and Kuteva (forthcoming) include them under this category for the following reasons: first, there are other theticals that may also occur on their own; Heine et al. (2013) and Kavalova (2007: 149-152) propose to distinguish between floating theticals, which are mobile in respect of their host utterance, and fixed theticals, which do not need a host, as exemplified above in (98d). This notion applies in particular to thetical categories such as imperatives (*Come here!*) and vocatives (*Waiter!*). And second, it may be argued that the anchor for insubordinated clauses is grounded in the situation of discourse.

### 3.3.3. The situation of discourse

Heine, Kaltenböck and Kuteva (forthcoming) consider that further support for the cooptation hypothesis, that is, the fact that insubordinated clauses are the result from a transfer from Sentence Grammar to Thetical Grammar can be found in the functions they serve.

As explained in Section 3.2.3, Evans observes that “by far the commonest type of insubordination is found in various types of clauses concerned with interpersonal control -- primarily imperatives and their milder forms such as hints and requests, but also permissives, warnings and threats” (Evans 2007: 387). Heine, Kaltenböck and Kuteva (forthcoming) argue that all these functions can be expressed by other structures of SG, such as grammaticalized forms of modality, but that they are “distinctly more central to the domain of TG and, more importantly, TG with its reliance on the situation of discourse provides dedicated, i.e., function-specific constructions for them in many languages”. All these functions, with the exception of evidential and epistemic meanings, are related to the component of *speaker-hearer interaction* (component *d*) mentioned in 3.3.2 as a feature of the situation of discourse, that is, interpersonal relations involving distinctions of politeness, requests, warnings, threats, and the like (cf. Evans 2007: 400 ff.).

A second group of insubordinated clauses seem to be related to component *c* in 3.3.2, *attitudes of the speaker* expressing the speaker’s feelings, beliefs, desires or commitment to a situation. It is also concerned with the expression of evidential and epistemic meanings, since these have to do with belief, truth or knowledge about the proposition expressed.

A third component of the situation of discourse that characterizes the functions of insubordinated clauses is that of *text organization* (component *a* in Section 3.3.2). Evans considers the development of insubordinated constructions as a result of the ellipsis of a matrix clause and, accordingly, the functions he attributes to insubordinated constructions correspond to the nature of the ellipsed matrix clauses. An alternative view of subordinate or dependent clauses (Mithun 2008) is found in the effects of cooptation whereby SG units are expanded for structuring texts beyond the level of sentences. This can result in a change in packaging of information units going from the level of sentence to a higher level of discourse planning.

Heine, Kaltenböck and Kuteva (forthcoming) state that the different components that constitute the discourse situation form a complex network whose internal linkage structure is still unclear. Thus, the question is not which component is involved in a given insubordinated clause but, rather, which of the components are fronted and which are backed, that is, it has to do with the extent to which components are involved in a given insubordinated clause.

#### **3.3.4. A typology of theticals and insubordinated clauses**

As discussed by Heine, Kaltenböck and Kuteva (forthcoming), insubordinated clauses show clear features of being thetical, as has already been noted. In addition to these, they argue that there are more features that can be added when looking at the internal typology of insubordinated clauses. According to them, theticals can be divided into three basic types, and this typology is hypothesized to be reflected also in the structure and use of insubordinated clauses. Returning momentarily to Evans's (2007:



370, cf. Section 3.2.1) four-stage historical development of insubordinated clauses, the final stage is reached when the insubordinated clause becomes a construction that can be interpreted as a main clause type in the language.

#### Stage

- 1 Subordination (subordinate construction)
- 2 Ellipsis (ellipsis of main clause)
- 3 Conventionalized ellipsis (restriction of interpretation of ellipted material)
- 4 Reanalysis as main clause structure (constructionalization, where it may no longer be possible to restore the ellipted material)

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The specific concepts used by Evans are ellipsis, conventionalization, and reanalysis, but Heine, Kaltenböck and Kuteva (forthcoming) argue that an alternative typology based on Discourse Grammar, to supplement rather than replace that of Evans, can also be established. Although this typology correlates in a number of ways with Evans's views, it differs from them in that it makes no diachronic claims and in that ellipsis is given a different role.

Kaltenböck et al.'s (2011: 870-872) proposed typology identifies three types of theticals, namely, instantaneous, constructional, and formulaic. The main features that distinguish them from one another are listed below; the transitions between categories are fuzzy since there are no clear boundaries that separate them.

- a. Instantaneous theticals: They are fully compositional, can be coopted freely anytime and anywhere, and quite a few of them are uttered only once and never again.
- b. Constructional theticals: They are recurrent patterns of theticals; they are compositional but have a schematic structure and function.
- c. Formulaic theticals: They are fixed, i.e., non-compositional information units, that is, their shape is largely or entirely invariable. They are usually short chunks that tend to be positionally flexible.

#### **3.3.4.1. Instantaneous insubordinated clauses**

Instantaneous insubordinated clauses form a subclass of instantaneous theticals and, as such, they are fully compositional. Since they are spontaneously coopted from a full sentence, they tend to be seen as being elliptic with an implied omitted main clause. Since they are coopted any time, they do not belong to a set of fixed constructions and their use may be restricted to one time.

As already noted, Heine, Kaltenböck and Kuteva (forthcoming) comment that there are no clear distinctions between the three classes of theticals they identify, and so due to their subordinate clause structure, instantaneous insubordinated clauses already show some signs of constructionalization such as, for instance, the use of the subordinator alone, which is expected to arouse the schema of a prototypical subordinate construction. However, and unlike constructional insubordinated

clauses, the instantaneous variant has no fixed structure in any other way. Instantaneous insubordinated clauses also differ from constructional insubordinated clauses in the fact that their communicative function is linked to the context whereas the function in discourse of the latter seems to be transparent. In other words, their meaning is only made clear in respect to the textual or contextual information. In the following examples taken from Heine, Kaltenböck and Kuteva (forthcoming), the insubordinated clause is related to the context in (101) and to the extra-textual information in (102), and can be properly understood only in those particular contexts:

(101) A: Now that's why you shouldn't worry about Tamsin and Damian coming together cos from Rebecca's point of view <,> it would be a godsend

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B: Oh it would uh it would be a great blessing if they can s they can s speak for half an hour or something it would be

C: Oh good

A: ***Cos they can make her feel easier because I think she feels she's being rather an intrusion.*** (International Corpus of English ICE-GB: s1a-021-164)

(102) A: Oh God Well i it's the National Curriculum the language element <,> uhm You see you've got you've got various you've got various <,>

D: Shall I move these away

B: <unclear-words>

D: Just uhm

A: mean

D: *Unless you sit somewhere else* (*International Corpus of English*  
ICE-GB: s1a-012-038)

B: Uhm

Heine, Kaltenböck and Kuteva (forthcoming) consider that a number of insubordinated clauses in stage 2 of the cline proposed by Evans (“ellipsis of main clause”) qualify also as instantaneous insubordinated clauses, but that nevertheless it is necessary to recognise these two classes because of the following consideration: whereas in Evans’s stage 2 “any grammatically compatible main clause can be ‘reconstructed’”, there may not be any grammatically reconstructable main clause in the case of insubordinated clauses as theticals, since they are not grounded in the structure of a sentence, as in example (102) above.

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Therefore, instantaneous insubordinated clauses seem not to be covered by Evans’s (2007: 366) definition, according to which insubordinated clauses are conventionalized main clause uses of formally subordinate clauses, given that their character is more spontaneous than conventionalized. Nevertheless, Heine, Kaltenböck and Kuteva (forthcoming) still consider that instantaneous insubordinated clauses qualify as insubordinated clauses, firstly because the boundary between conventionalized and non-conventionalized insubordinated clauses is frequently unclear: some of the examples provided by Evans as instances of insubordinated clauses also appear to be instantaneous ones (especially those provided for German); and secondly, because both kinds seem to result from the same principles of discourse organization, and should therefore be considered as belonging to the same category, exhibiting only differences in degree.

#### **3.3.4.2. Constructional insubordinated clauses**

As stated in the previous section, compared to instantaneous insubordinated clauses, constructional ones are more likely to be stand-alones. The more the conventionalization, the less the need for a link to textual material, and once they get conventionalized in a particular discourse situation a specific pragmatic function also evolves. Constructional insubordinated clauses are recurrent patterns of theticals; they are compositional but they show a fixed schematic structure and function, and this function differs from that of its non-coopted equivalent.

For example (103a) below taken from Evans, Heine, Kaltenböck and Kuteva (forthcoming) point out that the insubordinated clause suggests a recurrent pattern with a schematic structure:

[The insubordinated clause] consists of the conditional protasis marker *if*, typically followed by the second person subject pronoun and the verb is in a hypothetical mood category implying an action in the future. And it has a conventionalized construction-specific function, namely, that of expressing polite requests or suggestions.

As demonstrated by Evans (2007: 380), the insubordinated clause meaning of polite requests also arises in specific contexts of the SG use of the conditional *if*-construction, such as (103b), but in such cases the insubordinated clause meaning can be interpreted as a context-induced inference, while the insubordinated clause meaning of polite requests is independent from the context in which it is used, as will be discussed in the empirical part of this dissertation. This function exists also in some contexts of its use as a Sentence Grammar connective, such as (103b), but

it is clearly different from the conventional function of *if* as a marker of conditional protasis. Notice that this constructional insubordinated clause is not associated with one particular form of an 'ellipsed' matrix clause, and *if* cannot be replaced by the complementizer *whether* (Evans 2007: 380-390).

(103) (Evans 2007: 380; cf. (100))

- a. *If you could give me a couple of 39c stamps please.*
- b. I wonder *if you could give me a couple of 39c stamps please.*

As a result of being highly conventionalized, constructional insubordinated clauses are considered less elliptic than instantaneous ones, and their discourse function is more independent from the context. Thus, for example, (103a) is understood as a polite request in any context in which it is used. The same applies to the following constructional insubordinated clauses, whose illocutionary force is evident even out of context.

(104)

- a. *That I should live to see such ingratitude!* (Quirk et al. 1985: 841; Evans 2007: 403; exclamation, evaluation; expression of surprise, typically conveying disapproval or regret)
- b. *To think that he was once the most powerful man in the land!* (Huddleston & Pullum et al. 2002: 944; Evans 2007: 404; exclamation, evaluation; expression of surprise)
- c. *Oh to be free!* (Quirk et al. 1985: 842; exclamatory wish, poetic or jocular style)

d. ***If only I'd listened to my parents!***

(Quirk et al. 1985: 842; Huddleston & Pullum et al. 2002: 945;  
exclamatory wish, regret)

Fixation of formal features, both at the morphosyntactic and prosodic levels, no matter its degree, also contributes to the discourse function of constructional insubordinated clauses. At the level of morphosyntax, these clauses frequently show a fixed first or second person subject, pointing to their interpersonal function, or some modal particle (such as *doch*, *wohl*, *bloß*, in German, for example) signalling the attitude of the speaker and thus tying it in with the component of speaker attitude (component *c* in Section 3.3.2). English hardly makes use of adverbial elements of this type, but a similar personalizing effect of the discourse marker *oh* can be observed in example (104c).

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As for the prosodic level, constructional insubordinated clauses show a relatively fixed intonation contour, which is usually reflected orthographically with exclamation marks, as in (104).

**3.3.4.3. Formulaic insubordinated clauses**

Formulaic insubordinated clauses are short, invariant information units. Some English examples, taken from Heine, Kaltenböck and Kuteva (forthcoming), are provided in (105) and (106).

(105) A: Have a nice day tomorrow

B: Oh yeah. (laugh) (pause) (laugh) we might get this piano lesson done soon.

C: **Not to worry.** (*British National Corpus BNC*: KBW S\_conv)

A: What with one thing and another...

(106) A: There was two dolls, a boy and a girl doll and the boy was actually  
(pause) like a boy.

B: Yeah?

A: **If you know what I mean.** (*British National Corpus BNC*: KCT  
S\_conv)

C: You don't very often see that do you?

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Heine, Kaltenböck and Kuteva (forthcoming) explain that these clauses seem to be later developments of the types of insubordinated clauses discussed so far, namely, instantaneous and constructional, but no appropriate diachronic evidence to support such a claim has thus far been adduced. Cases like (105) and (106) show features of subordinate clauses but lack a main clause and, similarly to other insubordinated clauses, they are independent at the levels of syntax, semantics and prosody, and so they occur on their own. In addition to this, they are associated with a very specific discourse function, just like constructional insubordinated clauses; thus *Not to worry!* in (105) is “an informal version of ‘Don’t worry!’” (Quirk et al. 1985: 842), and *If you know what I mean* in (106) is used to check the understanding of a possible implied meaning.

Formulaic insubordinated clauses may also be elliptical, lacking some constituents that would be obligatory in corresponding Sentence Grammar clauses, as illustrated in the following example from Heine, Kaltenböck and Kuteva (forthcoming):



(107) A: Well, to put it very crudely, in the current unitary authority debate they don't forget that we have helped. Sometimes the districts occasionally, but not always do.

B: *If I may*, Chair, sorry, erm, if it proves necessary that two—less than twenty thousand pounds is, is requested... (*British National Corpus BNC*: HYX S\_meeting)

In some instances of these formulaic clauses the reduction may include the omission of the full verb phrase, as in (108), also from Heine, Kaltenböck and Kuteva (forthcoming).

(108) A: So do you get to keep the Walkman?

B: Cor! *If only!* (*British National Corpus BNC*: KD5 S\_conv)

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Other English expressions, such as *if you will* and *as it were*, etc., are also seen by Heine, Kaltenböck and Kuteva (forthcoming) as instances of formulaic insubordinated clauses, that is, as a subclass of formulaic theticals, as illustrated by the examples in (109).

(109) (taken from Brinton 2008: 166-167)

- a. Jim Bob and Fruitbat jokingly suggested that it might be vaguely amusing to tie in the, *if you will*, “concept” of the album with a foreign press conference to promote it.
- b. This policy, which was designed to reconstruct Saint-Roch, did not, *as it were*, deliver the goods.

The structures in (109), it is suggested, are also insubordinated clauses: they have the appearance of a subordinate clause introduced by a subordinating

conjunction, but lack a main clause. Heine, Kaltenböck and Kuteva (forthcoming) propose that they are marginal formulaic insubordinated clauses, on the following basis: although they are not subordinate clauses – they are unintegrated syntactically – they cannot be said to be suggestive of ‘main clause uses’ either; and second, in contrast to other insubordinated clauses, they do not occur on their own but rather require a host utterance.

### 3.3.5. Final remarks on insubordinated clauses as theticals

From the perspective of Heine, Kaltenböck and Kuteva (forthcoming), insubordinated clauses are “part of a wider pattern of cooptation that is responsible for a large range of instantaneous, constructional and formulaic thetical information units”.

As has been discussed throughout this chapter, ellipsis is a central concept in Evans’s (2007) analysis. In his framework, ellipsis forms the first stage and is crucial for the development of insubordinated clauses. An important question that Heine, Kaltenböck and Kuteva (forthcoming) pose is that of the exact contribution that ellipsis plays in the rise of insubordinated clauses, and of theticals in general, to the extent of considering whether ellipsis is actually involved in the process. They put forward the following possible scenarios:

- a. Ellipsis coincides with cooptation.
- b. Ellipsis takes place after cooptation.
- c. There is no ellipsis; rather, it is simply the unit coopted (together with its valency features) that is deployed for use as a thetical.

Heine, Kaltenböck and Kuteva (forthcoming) argue in favor of scenario (c), basing their arguments on the fact that the evidence available suggests that “cooptation involves text pieces that frequently are structurally incomplete, i.e., do not form complete clauses or phrases, to be transferred from SG to TG, even in cases where the meaning of the ‘missing’ parts is recoverable by the interlocutors” (Kaltenböck et al. 2011; Heine et al. forthcoming). They also base their claims on the fact that there is no clear diachronic evidence in support of either (a) or (b) to suggest that there is ellipsis accompanying or following cooptation. This lack of diachronic evidence is, however, largely due to the absence of research in this area, and the same lack of data in this respect applies to Evans’s view; hence it seems to me that more work is needed before clear conclusions can be drawn on this specific issue.

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As to the fact that insubordination is triggered by grammaticalization, Heine, Kaltenböck and Kuteva (forthcoming) argue against this view and consider that it is cooptation that favors this process. Evans’s (2007: 429) observation that “[i]nsubordination is an important phenomenon because of the unusual way the direction of diachronic change runs: from subordinate clause to main clause, from morphosyntax to discourse, and (in its initial stage) from grammar to pragmatics” is accounted for by Heine, Kaltenböck and Kuteva (forthcoming) with reference to the cooptation hypothesis:

Like other kinds of expressions that are coopted from SG [Sentence Grammar] to TG [Thetical Grammar], subordinate clauses are put to new uses as syntactically, prosodically, and semantically independent information units. Consequently, they are no longer anchored in the

morphosyntactic structure of a sentence but rather in the situation of discourse – that is, in “pragmatics”. The diachronic outcome thus is an utterance that has the features of a subordinate clause but the independent status characteristic of a main clause.

Heine, Kaltenböck and Kuteva (forthcoming) do not provide an ‘evolutionary scenario’ in their approach to insubordination since there is no appropriate historical information that could be of help in a reconstruction. Nevertheless, they consider it plausible to assume that instantaneous insubordinated clauses are a prerequisite for the growth of both constructional and formulaic ones, although in my view the fact that they describe those clauses as somehow ephemeral does not seem to fit with such an interpretation. Finally, in their opinion, the same applies to the development of insubordinated clauses: the rise of insubordinated clauses does not seem to relate to any kind of grammaticalization process; such finding is in accordance with the analysis of Evans (2007), which cannot be reconciled with grammaticalization either.

### **3.4. Insubordinated conditional clauses cross-linguistically**

As became clear in Section 3.2 above, Evans’s account of insubordination has brought to light the fact that insubordination is widespread across languages, and can affect clauses of many different types. In addition, it appears that some languages and language families are more hospitable to insubordination than others. Romance languages, for instance, admit a variety of insubordinated constructions, such as Spanish independent *que*-clauses (cf. Gras forthcoming), *como*-clauses (Schwenter forthcoming) and *si*-clauses (Schwenter 1998, 1999, forthcoming).

(110) Tienes que llamar al banco.

‘You have to call the bank.’

- *Que ya he llamado.*

‘[QUE] I have already called.’

(111) *¡Como no te calles ya!*

(112) *Si yo no la había invitado.*

Spanish insubordinated clauses are, furthermore, quite versatile; thus Gras (forthcoming) shows that Spanish *que*-clauses can display different functions: first, modal functions dealing with the speaker’s attitude towards the proposition as in (113), which expresses a command, but there are also cases of initial *que*-clauses issuing wishes; and second, discourse connection functions used as links between the current utterance and previous discourse, with three values: reiteration, as shown in (114), echo-questioning and indirect discourse.

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(113) B: pos/ ir ahora y si no está/ vais al ambulatorio y *que te pinche y que t’haga otro volante pa(ra) mañana* por la tarde [RV.114.A.1: 324-332.]<sup>2</sup>

‘B: so/ you go now and if (she) is not there/ you go to the hospital and [QUE] someone should give you a shot and [QUE] make you an appointment for tomorrow afternoon’

(114) G: (bue)no ¿y ahora por dónde nos vamos a ir?

‘G: well and now which way should we take?’

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2 The examples from Gras belong to the *Corpus de conversaciones coloquiales* (Briz & Val.Es.Co. 2002), which contains spontaneous conversations among adults from Valencia, and to the COLA corpus, which is composed of spontaneous conversations among teenagers from Madrid.

L: ¿adónde?

‘L: where?’

G: ¿*que por dónde nos vamos ir*?

‘G: [QUE] which way should we take’

98 In many Germanic languages, by contrast, insubordination is less well represented. A case in point is Dutch, where according to Verstraete, D’Hertefelt and Van linden (2012), insubordinated structures are mostly restricted to conditional clauses, as will be discussed in Section 3.4.3 below, and to complement constructions introduced by the complementizer *dat*. The latter type can be used deontically, to encode some aspect of the speaker’s desires concerning a potential state of affairs, as shown in (115), where the speaker suggests what the addressee should do; a second use is what Verstraete, D’Hertefelt and Van linden label evaluative insubordination, in which the speaker provides an evaluation of an actual state of affairs, as exemplified in (116), where the speaker shows surprise at what has been said.

(115) *Dat hij misschien eens in zijn achterzak kijkt.*

conj he perhaps part in his back.pocket look.prs

‘He could try and check his back pocket.’

(116) *Dat jij dat durft te vertellen zoiets.*

conj you dem dare.prs to tell such.thing

‘I can’t believe you dare to tell people something like that.’

Finally, a third category identified by Verstraete, D’Hertefelt and Van linden for *dat*-complements in Dutch is discursive insubordination,

where modal or evaluative factors do not play a role at all. Instead, the insubordinated construction serves to expand on an aspect of what the speaker or the interlocutors have just said. An example is (117), where the speaker expands on their first turn to clarify what they mean with their question about a scanner.

(117) A: Heb je zelf wel ‘ns een scan gehad?

A: ‘Have you ever had a scan yourself?’

B: Nee

B: ‘No’

A: *Dat je in zo’n apparaat gaat.*

conj you in such.a machine go.prs

A: ‘That’s when you go into a machine like that.’

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The literature on insubordination has also revealed that, across languages, the clauses that constitute the focus of this dissertation, namely, those expressing conditional meaning, are particularly prone to undergo processes of insubordination to varying degrees. The reasons behind this special eligibility of conditionals to get insubordinated have been explored by Lombardi Vallauri (2010) in his important research on insubordinated conditionals in Italian (on these, see further Section 3.4.2 below).

According to Lombardi Vallauri, conditionals bear certain features that make them particularly versatile and enable them to be used without a main clause, while still communicating a meaning selected by the context. Conditionals, for instance, build a generic semantic relation between the states/events coded by the main and the subordinate clauses; they signal

the association of two events without specifying what kind of relation there might be between them. They express the idea that the coming into being of the latter event is simply allowed by and compatible with the former. As a result (cf. Lombardi Vallauri 2010: 61-63), as has already been discussed in Chapter 2 of this dissertation, apart from expressing the typical relation of condition based on a cause-effect relation (as in *if it rains, the grass will grow*), conditional clauses can also have a metadiscursive function, signaling that the conditional relation holds between the conditional clause and a hidden performative predicate of 'saying' (e.g., *if you want some sugar, [I am telling you that] it is in the cupboard*). In addition to these uses, conditional clauses can also often build 'bi-affirmative' constructions (such as *if the Queen is rich, the President is hardly poor*) and 'binegative' constructions (such as *if you love animals, I am Konrad Lorenz!*).

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The very frequent use of independent conditionals in Italian is attributed by Lombardi Vallauri precisely to the semantic 'emptiness' of the relation they encode, which consequently favors their versatility and predisposition to express, even in the absence of a main clause, the particular set of semantic-pragmatic functions that will be described in more detail in Section 3.4.2 below. This view of Lombardi Vallauri can be fruitfully applied also to other languages, including English. As will be shown in Chapters 5 and 6 of this study, English insubordinated *if*-clauses share many of the uses described by Lombardi Vallauri for Italian, although they are not so frequent as their Italian insubordinated counterparts.

The three subsections that follow summarize the research carried out by Schwenter (1998, 1999, forthcoming), Lombardi Vallauri (2004, 2010), and D'Hertefelt (2015) on independent conditional clauses in Spanish, Italian and Dutch, respectively.



### 3.4.1. Insubordinated *si*-clauses in Spanish

As shown by Schwenter (forthcoming), conditional sentences in Spanish are very similar to their counterparts in English, the prototypical conditional marker of subordination being *si* ‘if’, and the clause order being the canonical one, i.e., protasis followed by apodosis. The latter can optionally be marked by *pues* or *entonces* (both meaning ‘then’) (cf. Chapter 2):

(118) ***Si está lloviendo***, (pues/entonces) no vamos a la playa.

‘If it’s raining, (then) we won’t go to the beach.’

In addition to the canonical conditional introduced by *si* there also exist conditionals introduced by the conjunction *como* ‘as’, plus the subjunctive mood. These can also be used elliptically, but in contrast to independent *si*-clauses they keep their non-final intonation contour, and consequently their conditional meaning, when used in elliptical contexts, as will be seen in Section 3.4.1.3 below.

Among the types of *si*-clause that Schwenter examines in his forthcoming comprehensive study of insubordination in Spanish are the clauses that he had earlier termed ‘refutational’ *si*-clauses. An important feature of this construction is that unlike most insubordinated conditionals in other languages, such as English or Italian (cf. Lombardi Vallauri 2010, discussed in Section 3.4.2), the refutational or insubordinated *if*-clauses of Spanish are not used to encode politeness but, rather, are found in face-threatening illocutionary acts where a speaker provides an objection to what the other interlocutor has just uttered, as illustrated in (119), taken from Schwenter (forthcoming).

(119) A: Los primos van a llegar esta tarde.

‘Our cousins are going to arrive this afternoon.’

B: **¡Si ya han llegado esta mañana!**

‘They already arrived this morning!’

The marker *si* in (119) accompanies a speech act with the form of a declarative sentence, even though it is the typical marker of conditional sentences in Spanish, and it indicates that B has some type of objection to what A has just said: the purpose of B’s reply is to point out the incongruence of A’s assertion when confronted with the content of B’s statement. The connective *si* seems somehow superfluous in a case such as (119), since it can be removed from B’s turn without having an effect on the propositional content. However, this removal would imply loss of pragmatic clues, for the presence of *si* indicates that B’s utterance relates back to what A has said.

As previously discussed in Schwenter (2002) and also noted by other authors (e.g., Almela Pérez 1985; Montolío Durán 1999), *si*-utterances like those in (119) are often prefaced by the adversative conjunction *pero* ‘but’ highlighting the objection of the speaker (i.e., ¡Pero si ya han llegado esta mañana!). In this respect, *pero si* acts in the same way as *si* alone.

Independent ‘refutational’ *si*-clauses do not have an equivalent among English insubordinated *if*-clauses. But other subtypes of the elliptical conditionals that Schwenter documents in Spanish are also found in other languages, including English, as I will show later on (Chapter 5). For instance, Spanish independent *si*-clauses (*oraciones suspendidas*, as they are sometimes called in the relevant literature on Spanish usage; see RAE 2009) can be used to issue mitigated and generic commands, as

in (120), or to convey polite offers or requests, as in (121). Similarly to what Lombardi Vallauri reports for Italian (cf. Section 3.4.2), these cases of insubordination are not fully constructionalized, and so, both prosodic and contextual clues are necessary to interpret them correctly.

(120) *Si pudiera sentarse...* (said to a crowd that is milling around) (taken from Schwenter forthcoming)

‘If you could sit down ...’

(121) *Si aún tenéis hambre...* (speaker points to a pot full of food)

‘If you’re still hungry ...’

In cases such as these, according to Schwenter, it is easy to interpret the elided apodosis; in the case of (120), for example, he proposes two possible main clauses depending on the context: ‘we can get started’ or ‘I would really appreciate it’. Hence it seems that it is not the exact propositional content of the ellipsis that is crucial for understanding, but rather the pragmatic intent of the speaker combined with contextual information which can be recovered by speakers.

In his description of these insubordinated clauses, what Schwenter finds more intriguing is how it is possible that a conditional marker which conveys hypothetical semantics can be the source of a construction, the insubordinated one, which occurs *in realis*; in his words:

the hypothetical/irrealis meaning that is often ascribed to the semantics of conditional markers like *si* or *if* should actually be analyzed as a case of Gricean generalized conversational implicature or GCI, instead of as an encoded aspect of the marker’s meaning

[...] GCIs are ‘default’ inferences that are closely tied to particular linguistic forms, but still defeasible; these inferences are conveyed by the forms that carry them unless discourse-contextual conditions block them from arising in the first place (Schwenter forthcoming; see also Schwenter 1999).

Schwenter further adds that independent *si*-clauses must have occurred often enough in order to allow for the conventionalization of this non-conditional meaning, and for the extension of the connective *si* to the type of insubordinated contexts he analyzes.

#### **3.4.1.1. Formal evidence for the status of independent *si*-clauses as insubordinated clauses**

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Another aspect of Schwenter’s forthcoming discussion of insubordination which is also relevant for the present research relates to the issue of how to determine whether *si*-clauses lacking a main clause are truly insubordinated or not. Schwenter notes that the fact that a construction insubordinates does not mean that the subordinate clause from which it has arisen disappears; as he puts it, “[i]n the case of Spanish independent *si*-clauses, (younger) insubordinated constructions, or more accurately the use of the subordinating marker in main-clause environments, can be found alongside their (older) subordinate brethren where the marker is carrying out its prototypical function of introducing a conditional protasis” (Schwenter forthcoming).

Schwenter seeks to discover what happens to these subordination markers once they begin to appear in contexts of non-subordination,

especially whether they become superfluous once their function of marking a clause as subordinate in status is no longer required, and, if this is the case, the type of content they add to their contexts of occurrence. Related to this semantic change he poses another interesting question: where does this interpretive content come from? In addition, he proposes a series of tests that help to distinguish between clearly independent *si*-clauses and conditional protases with a similar form (whether elliptical or not) (1999: 90-96). These tests serve to show that independent *si*-clauses behave more like declaratives than like other subordinate clauses in Spanish (Schwenter 1999). First among such tests is the fact that true *si*-conditionals in Spanish may license the use of subjunctive mood in their protases (e.g., *Si yo tuviera más dinero, te lo daría* 'If I had more money, I would give it to you'), whereas the type of insubordinated *si*-constructions he analyzes for Spanish can only occur with the indicative mood, as can be expected given their discursive purpose of expressing assertions.

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A second test concerns the behaviour of independent *si*-clauses with respect to negative polarity items. In most cases, Spanish negative polarity items can be licensed by true conditional clauses with *si*, as in (122):

(122) *Si tienes duda alguna*, me puedes llamar.

'If you have any doubt, you can call me.'

In this example, the negative polarity item (*duda alguna* 'any (doubt)') is grammatical, because it occurs under the scope of the conditional conjunction *si*, which licenses negative polarity items in the same way as do negators like *no* (e.g., *no tengo duda alguna*). Moreover, the main clause in (122) can be elided and the negative polarity item remains grammatical, since the content of the elliptical element can be inferred

based on contextual information. In contrast, the response of speaker B in (123) is ungrammatical unless the preverbal negative particle *no* acts as a licenser for the negative polarity item in postverbal position. In this respect, the independent *si*-clause in (123) behaves in exactly the same way as any other declarative main clause.

(123) A: Tienes dudas sobre mi lealtad, ¿no?

‘You have doubts about my loyalty, right?’

B: *Si yo \*(no) tengo duda alguna.*

‘SI I don’t have any doubt.’

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The third test proposed by Schwenter concerns coordination. Whereas it is possible in Spanish to coordinate true subordinate clauses in a conditional sentence, each of them having their own conditional marker *si*, as shown in (124), independent *si*-clauses seem to behave differently in this respect: as shown in example (125) they are not available for coordination and *si* can only appear once, at the beginning of the utterance.

(124) *Si sigues asistiendo a clase y si estudias mucho*, vas a llegar lejos.

‘If you keep attending class and if you study a lot, you will go far.’

(125) A: Julia no va a aprobar el examen.

‘Julia won’t pass the test.’

B: *¡Si ha estudiado mucho y (\*si) lo sabe todo!*

‘SI she’s studied a lot and she knows it all!’

The response of B in (125) is interpreted by Schwenter as an indirect denial of the truth of the other speaker’s assertion: A is saying that Julia will not

pass the test and B is presenting arguments in favor of concluding that she will pass it. What this impossibility of repeating *si* in independent *si*-clauses such as (125) seems to suggest is that *si* is not part of the internal structure of the clause, in contrast with cases such as that presented in (124).

Another test proposed by Schwenter to distinguish independent *si*-clauses from true subordinate conditional clauses is related to whether they allow the embedding of their propositional content. In the case of true conditional *si*-clauses, they can be embedded with verbs of cognition or communication such as *creer* 'to think' or *decir* 'to say' in indirect speech, as in (126).

(126) ***Juan cree/dice que si tenemos dinero compraremos un coche nuevo.***

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'Juan thinks/says that if we have money we'll buy a new car.'

A conditional clause occurring without an accompanying main clause can likewise be embedded, as in (127).

(127) [Will we be able to buy a car?]

***Juan cree/dice que si tenemos dinero...***

'Juan thinks/says that if we have money...'

But, by contrast, trying to embed an independent *si*-clause with a verb like *creer* or *decir* is not possible even in cases where Schwenter creates a suitable dialogue in which one speaker makes an objection to an interlocutor, as shown in (128):

(128) A: Vamos a comprar un coche nuevo.

‘Let’s buy a new car.’

B: #*¡Juan cree/dice que si no tenemos dinero!*

‘Juan thinks/says that SI we don’t have money!’

Schwenter attributes the impossibility of embedding insubordinated *si*-clauses to the same reason that led to failure of the coordination test, namely, the fact that *si* in independent clauses must appear in utterance initial position. Thus, an alternative version of (129) in which *si* appears initially is fine:

(129) A: Vamos a comprar un coche Nuevo.

‘Let’s buy a new car.’

B: *¡Si Juan dice que no tenemos dinero!*

‘SI Juan says that we don’t have money!’

The last test proposed by Schwenter has to do with the scope of sentential adverbs, which again shows that there are clear differences between subordinate conditional clauses proper and their independent counterparts. For instance, the adverb *obviamente* ‘obviously’ may occur within the scope of a conditional conjunction:

(130) *Obviamente, si no vienen, no habrá fiesta.*

‘Obviously, if they don’t come, there won’t be a party.’

But, as in the two previous tests, the word order requirements of independent *si*-clauses do not allow the conditional marker to be inside the scope of *obviamente*; rather, for the utterance to be grammatical, *si* must have scope over the adverb, as in (131):



(131) A: ¿Va a haber fiesta?

‘Is there going to be a party?’

B: **¡Si obviamente no vienen! (#Obviamente si...)**

‘SI obviously they won’t come!’

The various tests put forward by Schwenter lead to the conclusion that the function and syntactic placement of *si* differs to a great extent between its use in conditional sentences and its use in independent *si*-clauses. In the case of subordinate conditionals, *si* operates at the syntactic level, marking the relationship between the two clauses and providing information on how to interpret the proposition in the apodosis. By contrast, *si* in truly independent clauses signals a discourse-level relationship between adjacent utterances, typically as produced by different speakers in the context of a dialogue. It seems clear that the connection between the subordinate clause use and the insubordinated main clause use is made by means of the dialogic context. There seems to be an extension of the marker from its restricted role as a marker of grammatical dependency towards marking a broader dependency relationship between utterances in connected discourse. The protases of conditional clauses enter into interpretational relationships not only with their corresponding main clauses but with other utterances in the discourse situation. According to Schwenter (forthcoming), in the case of independent *si*-clauses “this relationship is found between two adjacent utterances in a dialogic sequence, where the first part of the sequence proffers a proposition or a speech act that is being objected to by the speaker who formulates the content of the independent *si*-clause”. For him, there seem to be very specific contextual requirements for the licensing of

these insubordinated structures that must make reference to constraints on both the preceding and the following discourse context.

Schwenter tests function nicely in Spanish and help to establish clear differences between subordinate and insubordinated *si*-clauses; however, not all of them can be applied to the type of construction we are analyzing in English, probably due to the differences in function between the Spanish and the English construction, as will be shown in the discussion of the grammatical status of insubordinated *if*-clauses in Chapter 5 of this dissertation.

#### 3.4.1.2. Independent *si*-clauses with causal meaning

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In addition to the kinds of *si*-clauses discussed in the preceding sections, Schwenter (forthcoming) examines a second, rather different type of independent *si*-clause in Spanish, namely, cases in which these constructions are issued as the main clause in a paractactic sequence expressing a causal explanation for a preceding assertion. As he points out, such *si*-clauses seem to be pragmatically assertions, and their form is that of a declarative sentence with falling intonation. However, they are not typically found in dialogic contexts, but rather show a discourse-pragmatic dependency between the *si*-member and another sentence, for which the *si*-clause provides a justification, as in (132):

(132) Juan está enfermo, *si lo he visto hoy en el médico*

‘Juan is sick, SI I saw him today at the doctor’s office’

The *si*-clause in (132) asserts the proposition ‘I saw Juan at the doctor’s office’ that gives support to the content of the prior sentence ‘Juan is sick’. Schwenter shows that if we add a phrase that weakens the speaker’s commitment to the truth of the first proposition, such as *puede que* ‘it may be that’, the presence of *si* is no longer possible and the speaker would have to use *porque* instead:

(133) Puede que Juan esté enfermo, {*porque*/#*si*} **lo he visto hoy en el médico**

‘Juan might be sick, {because/SI} I saw him today at the doctor’s office’

According to Schwenter, it is easy to identify a clear connection between the independent refutational uses of *si*, discussed in 3.4.1, and these paratactic uses where a supporting piece of evidence for what has been previously stated is made by means of a *si*-clause. In the same way that *si*, or the *pero si* combination (i.e., ¡*Pero si ya han llegado esta mañana!*), is stronger than bare *pero* in dialogic adversative contexts such as those in (119) above, *si* is epistemically stronger than the canonical causal conjunction *porque* in contexts like that in (133).

Another example of the same use is (134), taken by Schwenter from an online chat. In this conversation, speaker S is asking whether speaker R would prefer that his/her visit is not mentioned to L so as to be a surprise for him/her. R’s reply to this includes *si* in non-initial position to justify the immediately preceding statement that L already knows that S is coming to visit in September.

(134) S: No sé si quieres que sea una sorpresa para L.

‘I don’t know if you want it to be a surprise for L [=R’s son]’

R: ***Él ya lo sabe si siempre dice que el tío S viene en septiembre.***

‘He already knows SI he always says that uncle S is coming in September.’

Note that this example does not allow the prefacing of *pero*, unlike the cases of independent *si* in dialogic contexts of refutation seen above in Section 3.4.1, because *si* is not in utterance initial position. For Schwenter, this ability of *si* to occur in non-initial position constitutes further evidence of emancipation of *si* with respect to its use in conditional contexts: *si* is now indicating the connection between the content it introduces (‘L always says that uncle S is coming in September’) and the preceding assertion (‘L already knows that S is coming’). In example (134) *si* could be deleted without affecting the propositional content of the utterance, as was the case in example (120) above, but its causal interpretation is corroborated by the fact that it could be replaced by the causal conjunction *porque* or the subordinating conjunction *que* ‘that’, which are also used to provide a causal link between clauses. Thus, the primary function of *si* in causal contexts such as this is to make explicit the strength of the causal connection between the two propositions, and this interpretation was not encoded in the conventional meaning of *si*.

In contrast to the dialogic contexts discussed in Section 3.4.2 below, where it could be argued that it is possible to reconstruct an elided general question of the type ‘why do you say/think that?’, in cases where there is a falling intonation pattern in contexts similar to that in (134), this reconstruction is not available. This difference is considered by Schwenter

as an indicator of the ‘emancipation’ of *si* as a main clause element: the conditional marker no longer conveys conditional meaning nor indicates a conditional structure at all. In order to connect the original conditional use with this new meaning it is necessary to correctly interpret the adversative context uses which provide a link between the conditional and causal contexts.

Schwenter concludes, then, that the extension of *si* from a hypothetical conditional marker with a default meaning in the lines of ‘suppose *p*’ to assertive declarative contexts with adversative meaning to contexts with causal meaning appears to be a product of the reanalysis into a main clause structure, as proposed by Evans (cf the discussion of insubordination in Section 3.2). The contexts where *si* appears in Spanish show a much closer resemblance to main clause features than to subordinate features, and *si* has even been extended synchronically to causal contexts where no elliptical reconstruction is possible. These new insubordinated structures fit into conversational discourse, and reflect a particular kind of interaction between interlocutors, at least when their function is refutational.

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#### 3.4.1.3. Insubordinated conditional *como*-clauses?

Conditional marking in Spanish can be achieved by the use of *si*, which is by far the most common conditional subordinator in Spanish, and also by the use of *como*. *Como*-conditionals have been discussed by Schwenter at various times (2001, forthcoming); he shows that *como*-conditionals exhibit clear meaning differences with respect to conditionals introduced by *si*. While any conditional construction guarantees that the proposition in the protasis is a sufficient condition for the proposition in the main

clause, *como*-conditionals present “a condition that would normally be insufficient for the consequent, but asserts an exception to that normal expectation” (Schwenter forthcoming). A *como*-conditional like (135) below is acceptable only under certain contextual conditions: namely, in a context where ‘good weather’ would not typically be considered ‘good enough weather to go to the beach’ the *como*-clause is possible; in a context where good weather would be a typical reason to go to the beach, it is not.

(135) *Como haga buen tiempo*, vamos a la playa.

‘If the weather is good, we’ll go to the beach.’

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Schwenter (2001) argues that a clause such as that in (135) is ‘anti-concessive’ in nature, and contrasts with its concessive counterpart. Concessive conditionals are those introduced by *incluso si* or *aunque* ‘even though’ followed by subjunctive mood in Spanish, and by *even if* in English; they present a condition that is normally sufficient for a given apodosis, but which also expresses a ‘frustration’ of that antecedent-consequent relationship. Thus, *even if it rains, we’ll go to the beach*, means that despite the fact that raining normally would prevent the speaker from going to the beach, he/she asserts an exception to this. By contrast, in a *como*-clause like (135), what is normally understood as an insufficient condition for the consequent state, in this case good weather during a time of the year where going to the beach seems not to be a typical activity, is asserted in a way that it is not considered as an obstacle.

Schwenter sees this constructional meaning as an explanation for the fact that *como*-conditionals are often used to convey threats and warnings, in cases in which the meaning of the consequent is understood as being extreme with respect to that of the antecedent, for instance, in a threat, where what is

expressed in the protasis is usually an event that would normally be considered insufficient for the type of ‘punishment’ threatened in the apodosis.

(136) *Como no te calles*, te doy una bofetada.

‘If you don’t shut up, I’m going to slap you.’

When made by means of a *como*-clause, an utterance like that in (136) is interpreted as more threatening than if it were made in the form of a canonical *si*-conditional, due to the special relationship that holds between the content of the two clauses in Spanish.

Another frequent consequence of this constructional meaning is that *como*-conditionals are often elliptical, the substance of the threat or warning being left implicit. While the exact content of this threat or warning cannot necessarily be reconstructed, a version of (136) with a main clause elided, i.e., *Como no te calles...*, is easily understood as a strong threat with bad consequences if the hearer chooses not to shut up.

When an elliptical *como*-conditional is uttered in this way, it is realized with non-final intonation, the same pitch movement found in full *como*-conditionals at the boundary of the subordinate and main clause, and, importantly, also the same pitch movement found at the end of the protasis in full conditionals introduced by *si*. Thus, an elliptical *como*-conditional has a final rise typical of non-final prosodic constituents in Spanish. By contrast, in independent *si*-clauses, their utterance-final pitch movement resembles that of declaratives or other sentence forms with final prosodic contours. When used in a context where the utterance headed by *si* constitutes a refutation of the preceding assertion, as in (119) above, the utterance-final pitch movement shows, according to Schwenter,

a low boundary tone that is also found in some declaratives, and also in exclamative statements in Spanish. Hence Schwenter concludes that Spanish *como*-conditionals, even when occurring with an elided main clause, do not clearly meet the features criterial for truly insubordinated clauses.

### 3.4.2. Italian insubordinated *se*-clauses

As mentioned above, spoken Italian makes frequent use of clauses introduced by the conditional marker *se*, but not embedded in an overt main clause, similar to those uses under analysis in this dissertation. Lombardi Vallauri (2010: 50) analyzes these ‘free conditional clauses’ as ‘constructions’ in the sense proposed by Simone (2006: 233), as they show the following features:

- i. they are fully available to speakers as a unit of grammar in their language processing;
- ii. they can possess a particular ‘constructional meaning’, that is a stable meaning which arises from their forming part of an established construction, a meaning which is not available outside the construction;
- iii. they sometimes convey a specific pragmatic force, associated with specific pragmatic functions.

Lombardi Vallauri (2010: 51) provides the following instances as illustrations of the use of free conditionals in spoken Italian. In his view, although some of these clauses can be understood as indirect interrogative clauses, a vast majority of the *se*-clauses in these examples can only be interpreted as conditional



clauses, despite the fact that they display a certain degree of incompleteness, both semantically and syntactically, in the absence of an expressed main clause:

(137)

- a. ... se non lo volete fondo beige non so volete con fondo rosso  
ce l'abbiamo col fondo rosso c'è qui a terra per esempio **se si  
puo' brevemente inquadrare un tappeto** sempre in questa stessa  
qualità' eccolo col fondo rosso

'If you can show a carpet briefly...' (*Lessico di frequenza dell'italiano parlato (LIP)* Rd9)

- b. **se poi tu 'n l'hai finito ma se il concetto c'è tutto\_#**

'If the concept is all there...' (*Lessico di frequenza dell'italiano parlato (LIP)*. Fa13)

- c. A: ho capito e\_ o so d'altra parte va be' **se te sei scordato**

B: mah v ...

'If you have forgotten...' (*Lessico di frequenza dell'italiano parlato (LIP)*. Rb7)

- d. F: **ecco se vedete che avete bisogno di altro eh?**

'If you see that you need something else...' (*Lessico di frequenza dell'italiano parlato (LIP)*. Fa4)

For clauses of this type, Lombardi Vallauri proposes a semantic/pragmatic classification of their uses (Section 3.4.2.1) together with a pragmatic/

discourse-based hypothesis for the emergence of the construction (Section 3.4.2.2).

### 3.4.2.1. The semantic-pragmatic functions of free conditionals in spoken Italian

Using data from the corpus *Lessico di frequenza dell'italiano parlato (LIP)* Lombardi Vallauri (2010: 52-61) identifies a number of semantic-pragmatic functions for free conditionals in spoken Italian, some of which are very similar to those performed by the English clauses under analysis in this study (cf. Chapter 6 below). For his classification, Lombardi Vallauri takes into account not only the function of the free conditional itself, but also the meaning of the omitted main clause. The different categories identified by Lombardi Vallauri are presented in what follows.

#### a. 'No problem, everything's fine'

The meaning of the omitted main clause suggested by the conditional and its context may be understood as a 'reassurance of the addressee', something along the following lines: 'Why worry? everything's OK, there is no problem'. An example of this use is given in (138).

(138) ... se tu non ce la fai a finillo # per lo meno pero' fin do tu arrivi che tu l'abbia fatto bene ecco # se poi tu 'n l'hai finito ma **se il concetto c'è tutto** # 'un l'ho portata fino in fondo dico 'n ti succedera' mica sempre di rimanere al mezzo...

‘If the concept is all there...’ (*Lessico di frequenza dell’italiano parlato* (LIP). Fa13)

**b. ‘It’s out of our hands’**

Another meaning that free conditionals may have in spoken Italian is something like ‘There’s nothing we can do, let it be, it’s a disaster’. These cases may be considered as the pragmatically negative version of the preceding type since both include the nuclear meaning ‘there is nothing we have to/can do’, but the outcomes are different: a positive one in the case of examples similar to (138) above, and a negative one for those similar to (139).

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(139) A: ecco benissimo allora eh un Lorenzo omonimo eh che studia e uno che in questo momento sta cercando di di recuperare il pranzo perso

B: ho capito

A: perche’ ho un tecnico che mi sta mangiando sotto gli occhi e ora ***se questo e’ il sistema di fare radio alla RAI*** non lo farebbero io mi chiedo ma alla RAI mangiano?

‘If this is the way to do radio at RAI...’ (*Lessico di frequenza dell’italiano parlato* (LIP). Fb35)

**c. Generic question of the kind ‘What is going to happen?’**

The unembedded conditionals in the two preceding categories can have, according to Lombardi Vallauri (2010: 54), either an assertive intonational contour or a suspended intonation as if they were followed by a main clause. In either case, the utterance is to be interpreted as assertive. This contrasts with interrogative unembedded conditionals, which are not suspended and have interrogative intonation as if they were complete sentences. This is crucial for the interpretation of the omitted main clause; in Lombardi Vallauri's words (2010: 54),

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the subordinate conditional actually assumes the interrogative intonation of the utterance, and consequently its interrogative illocution, thus showing that the absence of the main clause is structurally planned, from the beginning of the utterance production. In other words, the subordinate conditional clause, although regarded as incomplete from the point of view of traditional syntax, is not at all incomplete from a pragmatic point of view. The absence of the main clause is not due to occasional execution, rather it is a construction that belongs to the competence of the speaker. The interrogation that arises from interrogative intonation is not entrusted to an unexpressed interrogative main clause: it is entrusted to the subordinate clause itself, which has the pragmatic function of a full utterance, though under the syntactic appearance of a suspended dependent clause.

As he explains, the subordinate conditional clause shows the intonation of an interrogative and, therefore, shares also with this type of clauses their

illocutionary force. Thus, they are not seen as incomplete from a pragmatic point of view and the fact that a main clause is missing is not seen as casual but, rather, as a structural device available for speakers.

The question contained in interrogative conditionals has an extremely generic meaning, which varies little depending on the propositional content of the clause. As can be seen from example (140), it is usually a question of the type ‘What will happen?’:

(140) A: uno due tre quattro cinque sei sette e che per ogni riga ci sono sette?

C: sette pasticcini

A: allora attenti

[VOCI\_SOVRAPPOSTE]

A: adesso se la domanda e' attenti ***se la domanda e' quanti sono in tutto i pasticcini?***

C: quattordici

A: ma figurati ti sembra possibile che siano quattor<dici> che tutti questi pasticcini che abbiamo disegnato sono quattordici?

‘If the question is how many little cakes are there in all?’ (*Lessico di frequenza dell’italiano parlato (LIP)*. Md1)

#### **d. Exclamatory and adversative conditionals ‘(But) it is not true!’**

Lombardi-Vallauri also discusses cases in which the conditional clause may be adversative or exclamatory, with different degrees of explicitness. These clauses are used to challenge what has been said in the previous turn, as shown in (141).

(141) D: signor giudice io ci ho sessantasei anni so’ piu’ vecchio pure de lui

E: *se ci hai un anno piu’ de me*

‘If you are one year older than me...’ (*Lessico di frequenza dell’italiano parlato (LIP). Re11*)

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#### **e. Offer and request**

In Lombardi Vallauri’s data for spoken Italian, the most frequent value of free conditional clauses in dialogues is that of an offer or request. In this use they resemble insubordinated *if*-clauses in English (see Chapter 6 below). These cases typically include verbs like *volere* (‘want’) and *potere* (‘can’), and the pragmatic function of the conditional clause is that of inviting the addressee to fulfill the condition. In example (142), for instance, the first participant seems to make the hypothesis that the other speaker in the exchange may provide him with some information, but pragmatically he is inviting him to do so:

(142) H: non mi ricordo comunque posso vederlo perche’ c’ho il giornale  
qua

C: ahah vediamo un momento questi due Valpolicella e Soave  
perche’\_

H: *se mi dice la pagina\_ se mi dice la pagina*

C: la pagina allora trentatre’

‘If you tell me what page...’ (*Lessico di frequenza dell’italiano parlato* (LIP)., Na13)

As explained by Lombardi Vallauri (2010: 57), *se*-clauses of the type in (142) would be described in traditional terms as lacking a main clause such as ‘I would be grateful to you’. However, they can also be regarded as ‘false conditionals’, which actually do not convey the meaning ‘if A’, but ‘please, A’, so the addressee is completely free to choose what to do, as in (143). In such cases, independent *se*-clauses can be said to realize a politeness function.

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(143) E: *se lo\_fai fare presto* perche’ questo e’ su di House <?> e allora me  
lo vorrei leggere chiaramente pero’ se lo fai fare\_

A: lo faccio fare\_ lo faccio fare mercoledi’

E: ah va bene

‘if you can get it done quickly...’ (*Lessico di frequenza dell’italiano parlato* (LIP). Ra3)

Lombardi Vallauri also finds cases where the conditional clause expresses the hypothesis that the addressee would like to do something, the resulting clause being an invitation.

(144) B: io poi invece e’ dalle quattro che so’ sveglio

A: poveraccio # ***se vuoi passare***

B: no\_ ti ringrazio ma eh poi sta<vo> o<ggi> oggi pomeriggio...

'If you want to drop by...' (*Lessico di frequenza dell'italiano parlato (LIP)*). Nb13)

Italian free conditionals may also express the speaker's offer to do something him/herself. In such cases, the speaker hypothesizes that the addressee may have some requirement, and so declares his/her willingness to meet it. An example of this use is given in (145).

(145) F: ***ecco se vedete che avete bisogno di altro eh?***

'If you see that you need something else...' (*Lessico di frequenza dell'italiano parlato (LIP)*., Fa4)

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#### f. Desire

The last function of free conditionals identified by Lombardi Vallauri (2010: 59) in his data is that of expressing a desire. He admits, however, that it is not easy to classify clauses such as the one in bold type in (146) below as conditionals in Italian because they are not usually introduced by *se* in the spoken language. Although the conjunction *se* may be introduced without any semantic change, when this is not possible, it is the use of the subjunctive verb phrase alone that contributes the optative meaning to the sequence.

(146) lei si diverte lei e' giovanissimo

A: la ringrazio ***fosse vero***



“[if only] it were true...” (*Lessico di frequenza dell’italiano parlato (LIP)*. \FiMiNaRo\RC11)

#### 3.4.2.2. Paths of grammaticalization

The explanation provided by Lombardi Vallauri (2010: 70 ff) for the emergence and consolidation of insubordinated *se*-clauses in spoken Italian lies in the fact that the meaning they leave unexpressed is generic enough to be recoverable from the context; for instance, a question such as ‘what will happen?’ can be left unexpressed with more probabilities of communicative success than a more contentful question. For him, then, constructions of this type originate in the economy of effort. He considers that, given that in conditional constructions the main clause frequently follows the subordinate clause, once the conditional clause is expressed, “its content and the surrounding context often make the main clause semantically superfluous” (2010: 75). Lombardi Vallauri explains this with the following example: if you place a bottle in front of your guests and say something like: ‘If you would like to take a glass of wine...’ there is no need to add something like ‘I’ll be pleased’ or ‘Please do’. Therefore, the main clause may remain unexpressed in communicative situations such as this one, where the conditional carries the whole semantic and pragmatic functions of the utterance, thus resulting in less coding effort.

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However, economy is not the only factor accounting for the omission of a main clause in free conditionals. Lombardi Vallauri considers that in some other cases, the communicative aim of a given speech act may be the vagueness of its reference; in other words, a speaker may prefer to leave part of the sentence ‘underspecified’ because he/she prefers not to encode a

very detailed meaning. Taking his earlier example again, having said 'If you would like to take a glass of wine...', vagueness may be chosen to reduce the power of a main clause utterance and this way leave many possibilities open, and all of them conveyed, precisely because none of them is overtly expressed: 'Please do', 'I'll be pleased', 'I just got this bottle from a French friend,' etc.

According to Lombardi Vallauri (2010: 77), the tendency towards economy and vagueness whereby free conditionals have become grammaticalized in Italian, and which corresponds closely to what Evans (2007) calls insubordination, is fairly well advanced in spoken Italian, as borne out by the results of his corpus analysis.

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The type of *se*-clauses analyzed by Lombardi Vallauri could be said to be incomplete from the point of view of grammar, but according to the rules of the spoken language there is nothing missing; rather, unembedded conditional clauses represent pragmatically, semantically and intonationally complete and self-sufficient constructions. Their semantic and pragmatic values occur frequently enough as to be predictable. Given that they operate in spoken Italian as a specific kind of independent clause, Lombardi Vallauri sees it inappropriate to speak of conditional constructions 'lacking a main clause'. In other words, free conditionals have acquired in Italian the properties proposed by Simone (2006: 233; see Section 3.4.2) for 'constructions', namely:

- i. they are fully available to speakers in their language processing;
- ii. they possess a 'constructional meaning';
- iii. they convey a specific pragmatic force.

Free conditionals containing the complex form *se hai/avete bisogno* ('if you need'), *se sapessi* ('if you knew') and *se ci pensi* ('if you think of it'), whose hypothetical main clauses are hardly imaginable, seem to be on their way to becoming constructions belonging to the lexicon of Italian, as shown in (147).

(147) D: e ci ho un anno un anno e mezzo piu' de te e un anno e mezzo  
quanto conta ***se sapessi***

'If only you knew...'(*Lessico di frequenza dell'italiano parlato (LIP)*.  
Re11)

#### 3.4.2.3. Pragmaticalization

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Lombardi Vallauri (2010: 80-82) considers that the most appropriate way of dealing with free conditionals in Italian is by speaking of "*pragmaticalization of incompleteness*", since the common feature of Italian independent conditionals seems to exist on a pragmatic level at least as much as on a strictly semantic one. When a conditional clause in a specific communicative context can do without the main clause, the reason is that the omitted content is somehow of a generic and recurring type. As a consequence of this, according to Lombardi Vallauri, "the main function of the inferred and non-expressed part of the utterance is not to share its *semantic content*, but to endow the whole utterance with a conventional *pragmatic value* (offer/request, reassurance, etc)" (2010: 81).

According to Lombardi Vallauri, free conditionals may have developed very specific pragmatic functions, such as conveying

politeness, due to frequent use. The fact that a speech act encoded by a free conditional is characterized as more polite than the same speech act issued as an imperative clause, given that the former leaves the addressee freedom to comply or not with it, must likely be the reason for the high frequency of free conditionals issuing offers and requests.

### 3.4.3. Independent conditional clauses in Dutch

D'Hertefelt (2015) provides a typology of independent conditional constructions in Dutch,<sup>3</sup> which are introduced by the standard conditional subordinator *als* 'if' and marked by subordinate word order, as shown in example (148), taken from her PhD dissertation (2015: 72)<sup>4</sup>.

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(148) A: Hey,

'Hi,'

wij hebben reeds een 3 jaar een Suzuki Vitara J1X van '91.

'We have had a Suzuki Vitara J1X from '91 for about three years.'

Wij zoeken deze te verkopen en een gewoon stadsautotje [sic] te kopen waar ikzelf mee kan leren rijden.

'We would like to sell it and buy a regular small city car in which I can learn how to drive.'

[...]

B: zoude die ni beter houden? Ge gaat er nog spijt van hebben!!

'Wouldn't it be better to keep this [car]? You'll regret this!!'

---

3 D'Hertefelt's (2015) study also refers in passing to certain uses of independent conditional constructions in other Germanic languages, such as German, Swedish, Danish, Icelandic and English.

4 All the examples in this section are taken from D'Hertefelt (2015).

*Allee jong als ge hier mee kunt leren rijden...*

INTERJ man COND you here with can.PRS learn.INF drive.INF

'I mean come on, if you can learn how to drive in this car...

(<http://forum.belgium4x4.be/archive/index.php?t-21234.html>,  
20/10/2014)

D'Hertefelt identifies six basic semantic categories of independent conditional clauses in Dutch, which she labels deontic, evaluative, assertive, argumentative, reasoning and post-modifying. The first two categories correspond to those identified by Verstraete, D'Hertefelt and Van linden (2012) for independent *dat*-complement clauses in the same language, as reported on in Section 3.4 above.

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#### **a. Deontic constructions**

Deontic independent conditional clauses refer to a potential state of affairs which is evaluated in terms of desirability. This category is further divided into two subtypes depending on whether the realization of the potential situation expressed in the clause is under the control of any of the discourse participants or not.

#### **i. Uncontrolled deontic constructions**

D'Hertefelt's uncontrolled deontic constructions (2015: 77 ff) correspond to cases where the speaker refers to a potential state of affairs he/she finds desirable but whose realization is presented as not being controlled by the speaker or the addressee, as exemplified in (149).

(149) A: Ja hoor! Ik heb gestemd! Op wie? Jaaaaaaa.....;-)

‘Sure! I voted! For whom? Weeeeeeeell ... [smiley]’

B: *Als dat maar goed gegaan is zonder bril!*

COND DEM PRT well go.PPART be.PRS without glasses

‘If only that went well without glasses!’

(<https://twitter.com/PaulusVII/status/446327899025846272>,  
18/11/2014)

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Clauses of this type have been labelled ‘optative’ by Stirling (1999) for English, as will be discussed in Section 3.5.2 and in Chapter 5 of this dissertation. Within this category, D’Hertefelt distinguishes between (a) potential wishes, i.e. constructions by means of which the speaker indicates that he/she has no reservations concerning the potential future realization of the situation expressed, as in (149); (b) irrealis wishes, i.e. those where the speaker finds the action proposed desirable although improbable, which is formally reflected in the use of past tense forms, as shown in (150); and (c) counterfactual wishes, i.e. those used by the speaker to express a wish that something had happened at some point in the past, while indicating that he/she is aware that this can no longer be realized, as is the case in (151).

(150) ‘Zo doen we het.’ Ida blies in haar koude handen. ‘O, schitterend, zoiets gek heb ik allang niet meer gedaan!’ zuchtte ze. ‘Een echt avontuur!’

“That’s the way we’ll do it.’ Ida warmed her cold hands with her breath. ‘O, great, I haven’t done something this crazy for ages!’ she sighed. ‘A real adventure!’

*Als het maar niet zo koud was.'*

COND it PRT NEG so cold be.PST

'If only it wasn't so cold.'

Bibberend trok ze haar dikke jas nog wat strakker om zich heen.

'Shivering, she pulled her warm coat around her even more closely.'

(Cornelia Funke, *De dievenbende van Scipio*. Querido 2012, accessed via Google Books, 20/01/2015)

(151) *Als je maar had geluisterd naar Lindsay Lohan*

COND you PRT have.PST listen.PPART to NAME

*en wat positieve energie had uitgestraald.*

and some positive energy have.PST emanate.PPART

'If only you'd listened to Lindsay Lohan and had emanated some positive energy.'

(<http://www.demorgen.be/wetenschap/celebs-laten-van-zich-horen-tijdens-sandy-a1525949/>, 22/10/2014)

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## ii. Controlled deontic constructions

In contrast to uncontrolled deontic constructions, in the controlled deontic structure the situation expressed in the independent conditional clause is seen as both desirable and controlled by the participants in the conversation. D'Hertefelt (2015: 88 ff) distinguishes between uses which are speaker-oriented and those which are addressee-oriented. In the former set of constructions, we find cases that refer to a potential action that the speaker evaluates as desirable or undesirable for him/herself, as

in (152), in which the speaker requests something from the addressee, namely permission to call a friend. Independent conditional clauses of this kind typically show formal markers that mitigate their imposing character, such as modal verbs.

(152) ‘Laura?’ De blinkend witte tanden van de vrouw komen steeds dichterbij. ‘Is er misschien iets wat je wilt?’

‘Laura?’ The woman’s shining white teeth approach steadily. ‘Is there anything you want?’

*Ik, eh...*

‘I, uh...’

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*Nou, als ik misschien even mijn vriendin mag bellen?’*

COND I maybe briefly my friend may.PRS call.INF

‘Well, if I could perhaps just call my friend?’

‘Natuurlijk. De telefoon ligt waarschijnlijk in de hal.’

‘Of course. The phone is probably in the hallway.’

(Elisabeth Gänger, *Een vreemde zomer*. Het Spectrum 2012, accessed via Google Books, 05/11/2014)

According to D’Hertefelt (2015: 96 ff), in addition to requesting for permission or asking the addressee to take a particular action, independent conditionals in Dutch can also be used by the speaker to ask for permission to go into a particular topic, serving thus to organize the discourse. An example is given in (153).



(153) A: dus de wetenschappelijke vraagstelling ligt uitdrukkelijk bij ons  
'so the scientific presentation of the question is explicitly ours'

B: mm-hu

A: *uhm en als ik even mag ingaan op op ja de*

COND I briefly may.PRS go.into.INF on on yes the

*Voorstelling van zaken van uh Wim Wennekens*

presentation of affairs of INTERJ NAME

eh and if I may briefly go into into yes the presentation of affairs by  
Wim Wennekens'

uh ja hij zegt een beetje van ja d'r zijn mensen d met uh uh uh uh d  
met lef hè die die 't schrijven wat ze willen

uh yes he says somewhat like yes there's people with uh uh uh with  
guts, right, who who write what they want'

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Independent conditional clauses in Dutch can also be used to threaten the addressee, as in (154), in situations that can be controlled by the addressee and that the speaker evaluates as undesirable.

(154) *Als je nou niet heel snel opflikkert he*

COND you now NEG very fast disappear.PRS INTERJ

'If you don't get out of my sight very fast'

(<http://forum.fok.nl/topic/528676/9/25>, 19/02/2015)

As for addressee-oriented constructions, D'Hertefelt discusses independent conditional clauses that refer to an action which the speaker evaluates as desirable for the addressee, as in (155) and (156). In (155) the *als*-clause

expresses an offer of help on the part of the speaker to the addressee, while in (156) the speaker makes the suggestion that he/she put down the phone and then call the addressee again.

(155) A: dan gaat de van 't weekend niet werken aan uw huis of

'then you won't work in your house this weekend or'

B: jawel wij gaan nog wat uh ik gaan de dan wat afvoeren en zo leggen

'yes we are going to eh I am going to install some drains and so on'

A: ah ja ja

'ah yes yes'

B: ja maar da 's uh ja maar goh maar 't is eigenlijk meer meten en passen

'yes but that's eh yes but well but we'll actually be measuring and fitting'

A: *maar als ge hulp kunt gebruiken of*

but COND you help can.PRS use.INF or

'but if you can use some help or'

B: 'k moet nog wat naar de winkel gaan nog wat gaan halen dus

'I have to go to the store and get some stuff so'

A: ja ja

'yes yes'

(156) A: ggg zeg Anske weet jij wat ggg

'ggg say Anske do you know what ggg'

[...]

B: zeg uh keer

‘tell me’

A: *als ik nu eens dichtleg en u weer opbel*

COND I PRT PRT put.down.PRS and you again call.PRS

‘(what) if I put down the phone and call you again’

B: ja

‘yes’

(<http://goo.gl/QHpFHi>)

## b. Evaluative constructions

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D’Hertefelt also finds cases of independent conditional clauses which express an evaluation of a particular state of affairs as remarkable, negative or absurd (2015: 109 ff). For example, in our earlier instance (148) speaker B considers that it is absurd to buy a small city car in order to learn how to drive; in (157), the speaker shows his/her disagreement with the fact that even making provocative shawls seems to be not allowed anymore and this fact makes him/her wonder what would be allowed.

(157) [comment on the fact that a football supporter was denied access to his club’s stadium, after having made shawls that provoked a rivalling club]

echt belachelijk!!

‘really ridiculous!!’

*Als dat al niet meer kan!*

COND DEM PRT NEG anymore be.allowed.PRS

‘If even that is not allowed anymore!’

(<http://www.twenteinsite.nl/clubman-gae-krijgt-stadionverbod-na-provocaties-richting-fc-twente.html>, 17/03/2015)

### c. Assertive constructions

A third type of independent conditional clause identified by D’Hertefelt (2015: 125 ff) is that used to assert that something is the case. An example of this category is given in (158). Although English constructions of this kind have been discussed in Section 2.4.2 as conveying surprise, D’Hertefelt argues that in Dutch “their primary meaning is the assertion of identification, which is why I put them in the assertive and not in the evaluative category” (2015: 126).

(158) [comment on a picture on Netlog]

*Ierse als dat de yonii niet is:)*

COND DEM the NAME NEG be.PRS

‘Look here, if that isn’t Yonii [smiley]’

(<http://bn.netlog.com/yoniflacher/photo/photoid=97482136#photoid=97482136>, 17/10/2014)

#### d. Argumentative constructions

Independent conditional clauses in Dutch can also serve to justify the speaker's attitude to something stated in the preceding discourse, as in (159), where the speaker accepts something he/she does not really seem to agree with.

(159) A: Ik zit met een dilemma.

'I have a dilemma.'

Ofwel het raam open en fris windje,

'Either I open the window and I have a cool breeze in my room,'

Ofwel raam dicht en geen lawaai van al die stomme trams en auto's  
die hier passeren.

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'Or I close the window and then I don't have the noise of all those  
stupid trams and cars passing by.'

B: [...] En Wouter, zet dat raam maar eventjes open, dat zal deugd  
doen :)

'And Wouter, I would open that window, it'll do you good [smiley]'

A: Ok, *als* *gij* *het* *zegt* ^\_^

okay COND you DEM say.PRS

'Okay, if you say so [smiley]'

(<http://vtk.ugent.be/forum/viewtopic.php?p=657789&sid=953788ead05a59781387973e48de5670>, 18/03/2015)

### e. Reasoning constructions

D'Hertefelt (2015: 140 ff) also reports cases of independent conditionals by means of which the speaker introduces a situation and asks the addressee to imagine or predict its potential consequences. Constructions of this type are often preceded by a coordinating conjunction, as in (160).

(160) Ik wil Boris spreken, zei Ángela. Die is er niet. Wat gek, zei Ángela, hij zei dat ik hierheen moest komen. Maar hij is er niet. Kan ik even op hem wachten? Ik denk niet dat hij komt.

'I want to talk to Boris, Ángela said. He's not in. That's strange, Ángela said, he told me to come here. But he's not here. Can I wait for him? I don't think he's coming.'

*En als hij wel komt?*

and COND he PRT come.PRS

'And if he does come?'

De man bekeek haar van top tot teen en zijn ogen begonnen te stralen. Ben jij Ángela?

'The man looked her all over and his eyes started shining. Are you Ángela?'

(Sergio Álvarez, *35 doden*. Bruna 2012, accessed via Google Books, 29/04/2015)

## f. Post-modifying constructions

Finally, independent conditional clauses can be used in Dutch, according to D'Hertefelt (2015: 143), to formulate a condition for something that was previously said, thus modifying the preceding discourse. In (161), for instance, the post-modifying independent conditional construction indicates under which condition you are allowed to go for manager functions.

(161) A: ach stuur je toch gewoon van die s standaard sollicitatiebriefjes  
d'ruit dan word je toch nergens aangenomen

'well then you just send out those standard letters of application  
then they won't hire you anyway'

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B: nee ik ga gewoon voor directeursfuncties

'no I just go for manager functions'

A: ach ja ggg

'ah yes ggg'

C: ja

'yes'

[...]

A: mag dat

'is that allowed'

B: *natuurlijk als je maar solliciteert*

of course COND you PRT apply.PRS

'of course as long as you apply'

A: maar jij bent xxx maar jij bent toen toch xxx kon toch beginnen  
bij Fixet

‘but you are xxx but didn’t you xxx you could start with Fixet right’

Examples similar to those included in this category by D’Hertefelt have been attested in the corpus data used for this dissertation. However, as will be discussed in Chapter 5, they will not be considered here as cases of insubordinated constructions.

### 3.5. Prior research on insubordination in English

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As pointed out in the opening lines of Section 3.4, the range of insubordinated constructions available in the Germanic languages seems to be less diverse than in the Romance languages. In the case of English, for instance, insubordination is largely restricted to the relatively marginal use of expressive-exclamative complement clauses employed to express disapproval or regret (Quirk et al. 1985: 841; Huddleston and Pullum et al. 2002: 944), as in (162), to monoclausal constructions introduced by *as if* (163), to clauses introduced by the conjunction *because*, as in (164) and to the independent *if*-conditionals which constitute the focus of this dissertation.

(162) *That he should have left without asking!*

(163) My boss wants me to help my co-workers with their project. *As if I don’t have enough work to do right now!*

(164) Will you arrive on time? *Because I want to leave early in the morning.*



English expressive-exclamative complements clauses have been briefly discussed by Panther and Thornburg (2011: 90-92) in a recent paper. Monoclausal *as if* constructions, in turn, have been explored by Brinton (2014), who shows that they are “typically used as a sardonic response to a stated or reported suggestion”, as the *OED* (cf. *OED*-3, s.v. *as*, adv., and conj. def. P1(c)) states. A detailed corpus analysis based on the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA; 450 million words) and the SOAP corpus (90 million words), which contains transcripts of television soap operas, enables Brinton to show that *as if* independent constructions occur preferably in spontaneous conversation: there are 73 instances in SOAP, as against only 54 in COCA. Brinton further argues, quite convincingly, that the *as if* monoclausal construction originates in the homophonous subordinating conjunction whose typical function is to introduce a clause expressing the conditional meaning ‘as the case would be if’, as in her example (165). Here the conjunction *as if* (also *as though*) is a combination of the comparison element *as* with the hypothetical element *if* or *though*, which together form a complex subordinator that signals comparison or manner.

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(165) They deal with us ***as if we are a former colony that should subjugate itself to their will....*** (COCA: NEWS 2012).

Despite their intrinsic interest, neither expressive-exclamative complement clauses nor *as if* monoclausal structures nor independent *because* clauses are directly relevant to the present research, and hence will not be further discussed here. The sections that follow, therefore, focus exclusively on the few studies that have addressed English independent *if*-conditionals to date, namely, Ford and Thompson (1986) and Ford (1993,

1997), which are the concern of Section 3.5.1, and Stirling (1999), which is summarized in Section 3.5.2. All of them have served as the point of departure for the present dissertation.

### 3.5.1. *If*-clauses without a consequent clause in American English

Section 2.5 above discussed the functions of conditional clauses in American English as identified by Ford and Thompson (1986). In this study, they also comment in passing on the presence in their data of cases of *if*-clauses unconnected to a main clause, that is, the type of clauses this dissertation is concerned with. They found that prototypical conditional clauses expressing a polite directive occurred in their spoken data in 7 percent of the cases, as in example (58) repeated here as (166). The fact that conditionals encode polite directives may be due to “a combination of the softening effect of hypotheticality and the fact that conditionals seem to imply an option with alternatives” (Ford and Thompson 1986: 365). In many of the cases they found without a consequent clause, this is very difficult to isolate since, according to them, this use of the conditional form is one of the least compatible with a logical interpretation. In example (167) the response from the addressee often reflects the understood intent of the utterance: the second speaker responds with assent:

(166) = (58) M: *If you could get your table up with your new sketches just soon as this is over* I would like to see you.

T: All right. Fine.

- (167) M: But *if you'll call Irey over and get together with him on Tuesday or Wednesday*, whenever you fellows are ready I'm ready. J: Yes, all right, that's fine.

In two later analyses discussing adverbial clauses in English conversation, Ford (1993, 1997) again finds conditional clauses that stand alone, without a consequent clause, as in (168), (169) and (170) below.

- (168) B: Yeah, maybe. Nah but I hadn'-

A: But *if you wanna uhm come in, and see*.

B: Tch! I wouldn't know where to look for her hnhh-hnh

- (169) B: Alright so,

A: Well *if you want me to give you a ring tomorrow morning*.

B: Tch! Well you know, let's eh- I don't know, I'll see may be I won't even be in,

- (170) B: So it starts at eight thirty?

A: Yeah. So, *if I-c-pick you up like by eight o'clock*.

B: Yeah

B's answers here reflect the interpretation of the *if*-clauses as offers; A's *if*-clauses are used in contexts where B seems to be hesitant about accepting what is being offered. The optionality that such *if*-clauses convey seems to emerge in sequences which involve hesitancy on the part of one participant. Speakers treat these "autonomous adverbial clauses" as complete actions in themselves. Conditionals are used in this independent way since they encode options; in Ford's words, "when one makes an offer [...] an *if*-clause is a workable format for suggesting the plan of action and at the same time

displaying a recognition, or conceding to the fact, that the plan is contingent and the other party may prefer another option” (1993: 139). As Ford explains (1997: 405), making an offer through a conditional clause is a way of dealing with the negative face wants of the addressee, the conditional allowing the hearer’s freedom of choice. In her view, speakers consider the *if*-clause alone as sufficient for the encoding of a polite offer and, in such contexts, it is not regarded as ungrammatical or incomplete, which Ford sees as an indicator of the progressive conventionalization of clauses of this type.

### 3.5.2. Stirling (1999) on ‘isolated’ *if*-clauses in Australian English

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Stirling (1999) is the first, and so far the only study to discuss at some length English insubordinated *if*-clauses, and to recognize their existence as a distinct grammatical category. The term ‘insubordination’, as repeatedly noted, was first used in work published by Evans at the beginning of this century (i.e., Evans 2007), so Stirling herself does not use that label; at the time of writing her research, however, she was aware of Evans’s work and had had access to a preliminary manuscript version of it (see Stirling 1999: 291-292). Instead of ‘insubordination’, Stirling speaks of *isolated if*-clauses, a term which she introduces in the context of a larger study of conditionals lacking a main clause, as documented in two corpora of Australian English.

The corpora in question were the *General Practice Corpus*, which is a corpus of transcribed general practice consultations, and the *Macquarie Dictionary Corpus* (Ozcorp). The *General Practice Corpus* consists exclusively of conversations recorded in Queensland in 1980 with the cooperation of the RACGP Family Medicine Program, as part of a larger study in which more than 300 consultations from 17 doctors were collected.

For her study, Stirling randomly selected 40 consultations involving 11 doctors. The average timing of the consultations was of 12 minutes in length and the transcribed text consisted of around 42,000 words.

The *Macquarie Dictionary Corpus*, in turn, consists of 20 million words from approximately 250 texts, the predominant variety being Australian English. It covers a range of genres, but most of the data come from written language. Since previous work by Ford and Thompson (1986; see also Sections 2.5 and 3.5.1 above) had suggested that conversation is the most fruitful place to look for examples of *if*-clauses lacking a main clause, the subset of written genres chosen for Stirling's study aimed to represent language that was as conversational-like as possible, taking into consideration the limitations that dialogue in plays and dialogue in third person thought in novels offer as an indication of actual usage. The genres selected were the following:

- a. Oral group: the transcription of a public hearing into aboriginal deaths in custody; 90,937 words.
- b. Drama: printed texts of two plays; 28,053 words.
- c. Private: letters and email; 1,775 words.
- d. Newspaper: including newspaper database material; 3,759,328 words.
- e. Fiction: novels; 10,158,816 words.

Both the *General Practice Corpus* and the *Macquarie Dictionary Corpus* were searched for instances of *if*, and all examples of *if*-clauses that showed no main clause were identified. This procedure enabled Stirling

to distinguish several different subtypes of *if*-conditionals lacking a main clause, as follows.

Firstly, *if*-clauses that she classifies as either ‘Incomplete utterances’ or as *if*-clauses with a ‘Contextually supplied consequent’. The term *incomplete utterance* is adopted by Stirling from Matthews (1981: 40-42), to refer to a conditional construction where the protasis is missing for ‘circumstantial’ reasons, that is, as a result of “speaker reformulation of the utterance in progress, or interruption by the other discourse participant” (Stirling 1999: 276). Two examples of these are (171)-(172):

(171) P: We thought *if we saved in the bank and try, and, it’s very difficult to know what to do.*

(172) PEARL: [disdainfully] I was only tellin’ you how the whole thing looked to me. *If a person can’t pass an opinion...*

OLIVE: you pass too many damned opinions that’s your problem.

Incomplete utterances naturally “have no standing of their own and are cued with cut off, not completion intonation” (Stirling 1999: 276). They are thus of “no concern to syntax” (*ibid.*).

In turn, *if*-clauses with a contextually supplied consequent are those in which the consequent can be “clearly supplied in the linguistic context” (Stirling 1999: 277). The most common cases are those where the *if*-clause constitutes a response or a qualification to an utterance previously made by a different speaker. (173) and (174) are representative examples, in which the conditional clause “is jointly constructed by the two participants” (*ibid.*).

(173) D: it’s actually tender to touch then?

P: only *if you push it*, push on it or ummm it's...

(174) MR CLARKE: [...] but *if you want to buy a motor car or something-*

MS N. MOORE: you save up.

MR CLARKE: yes, save up, but the thing is [...]

Like incomplete conditional utterances, *if*-clauses with a contextually supplied consequent are excluded by Stirling from further consideration, since they seem analyzable as simply fragmentary instances of normal conditional constructions.

In addition to the two above types, Stirling documents the occurrence in her corpora of two further types of *if*-clauses lacking a main clause. These are illustrated in (175) and (176).

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(175) *Okay if you'd like to get dressed now.*

(176) *If I'd somewhere to go, some friend's room.*

Stirling notes that in the context of utterance (175) was produced with the force of a polite request (a 'directive', as she puts it), whereas the example in (176) expresses a wish on the part of the speaker, that is, it is an 'optative' clause. It is to these two specific types, which correspond closely to the insubordinated *if*-clauses examined in this dissertation, that Stirling applies the label *isolated*.

Stirling further notes (*ibid.*: 275-276) that the *General Practice Corpus* yielded 19 examples of isolated *if*-clauses, all of them directives; in other words, no optative isolated conditionals, like that in (176), were found in that corpus. As regards the *Macquarie Dictionary Corpus*, despite its considerable size (20 million words altogether were examined), the

isolated *if*-clauses found comprised only 9 examples of the directive type, as in (175), and 16 examples of the optative type.

Regarding the isolated *if*-directives, Stirling also notes that the speaker most frequently uses the *if*-clause with the illocutionary force of a request, but in some cases they can be “more appropriately categorized as a suggestion” (1999: 278). Consider examples (177), (178) and (179) below.

(177) D: Deep breaths...*If you'd like to move your head a little.* Thank you.

(178) D: [...] Perhaps *if you could just pop back in a week and let me check it again to make sure it's not shot up*

M: Uh huh

D: too much but certainly on today's reading it's normal.

(179) D: Yeah, yeah. *Well if you can get someone to massage those muscles for you, and just the hot shower, or a hot water bottle, at the end of the day, and that's really about all you can do for it.* [...]

In clauses of this type, as Stirling observes, the subject is normally a second person one (cf. examples (177) to (179)) and the verb tense most frequently found is the present form of the main verb or the present tense of the modal *can*, the past tense of a modal occurring only occasionally.

All the examples Stirling reports from the *General Practice Corpus* were uttered by doctors in two phases of the consultation: in the concluding one when detailing the treatment and, less commonly, in the examination phase. Examples from the latter express the doctor's request for the patient to move parts of his/her body. Examples from the treatment



phase imply the specification of further treatment the patient will have to perform without the supervision of the doctor. These examples usually relate to acts previously mentioned in the consultation, functioning thus as reinforcement. Both situations require the patient's cooperation to fulfill the acts being requested by the doctor: in the first case, a movement of a part of the patient's body and, in the second one, the fulfillment of the recommendations made by the doctor, where the use of an isolated *if*-clause seems to give the patient the chance to make the decision of whether or not to fulfill the act.

In an attempt to study the circumstances under which what she calls directive isolated *if*-clauses are used, Stirling (1999: 282-283) also investigated a corpus of Scottish English dialogues which provided her with the opportunity to look at the distribution of these clauses in a corpus that controls for certain aspects of the relationship and interaction between the speakers. The corpus in question, namely, the *HCRC Map Task Dialogue Database*, was collected by the Human Communications Research Centre and consists of 128 dialogues which were obtained from 64 undergraduate students from the University of Glasgow with a mean age of 20, all but 3 being Scottish. Participants worked in pairs, each with a map in front of them that the other could not see. One participant had a route drawn and was required to instruct the other participant in drawing the correct route on his/her own map. The maps were almost identical but had certain different features. The manipulation of the design resulted in two subject conditions of 'familiarity' and 'eye contact', with half the dialogues occurring between speakers who knew each other well and half between speakers who had not met before and, similarly, half in which the speakers had eye contact and half in which they did not.

The analysis of the data showed that isolated *if*-clauses appeared very frequently in this corpus; in 128 dialogues, 578 instances of *if* occurred, of which 267 belonged to the isolated directive type. According to Stirling, this high frequency seems to relate to the nature of the task, which involved a high proportion of directive utterances. In addition, isolated *if*-directives occurred more frequently in dialogues where the speakers were not familiar with one another. It thus seems that “both the nature of the act requested and the relative social distance between dialogue participants may contribute to the likelihood of an ‘isolated *if*-clause’ directive being used” (Stirling 1999: 284).

With respect to isolated *if*-clause optatives, Stirling (1999: 285) notes that they are used to express a wish by the speaker and that they may include the intensifying adverb *only*. They usually appear in the form of free indirect style representing the thought of a third person protagonist, their illocutionary force being exclamative. Stirling’s corpus shows examples both with and without *only*, as exemplified in (180), (181) and (182) below.

(180) *If only Kitty had not done everything without her!*

(181) *If only Miss Hawkins would get a job...*

(182) He smiled shyly. “Oh-ho! That’s too much to ask. Otherwise, it’s clerking in the public service, or teaching, is that worth it? *If I’d somewhere to go, some friend’s room.*”

For both sets of examples, two subtypes can be distinguished depending on whether the event is placed in past or non-past time. Examples with *only* in Stirling’s corpus have past verbs, examples without *only* may have past or present. Parallel examples that include a consequent clause may

have a similar communicative function in that they express a wish and provide a motivation for it. For these examples, the intensifier *only* is required in order to show their optative meaning. Consider in this respect the constructed example in (183), provided in her study.

(183) *If he would only study harder*, he would pass the test.

The *if*-clauses used in this context propose desirable actions with the hope that something will be done to make them happen. Thus, in Stirling's view, 'if only p' seems to convey something like:

1. P is not the case.
2. Speaker desires p to be the case.
3. Speaker believes it unlikely that p will come about.
4. Speaker believes that neither speaker nor hearer can bring about p.

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### **3.6. Moving forward**

This chapter has reviewed the notion of insubordination (Section 3.2) and its re-interpretation within the framework of Discourse Grammar and Thetical Grammar (Kaltenböck, Heine and Kuteva 2011; Heine, Kaltenböck and Kuteva forthcoming; see Section 3.3). It has also offered an extended overview of a number of case studies of insubordination attested in different languages, with special reference to Spanish (Section 3.4.1), Italian (Section 3.4.2), Dutch (Section 3.4.3) and English (Section 3.5). This latter section focused in particular on the only analysis existing to date on English insubordinated *if*-clauses, namely, Stirling's (1999) chapter

on the occurrence in Australian and Scottish English of what she terms ‘isolated’ *if*-clauses. Since Stirling represents the point of departure for the empirical research carried out in the remainder of this dissertation, the question arises of the extent to which her account can be expanded. Essentially, the goals I pursue in what follows are threefold:

(1) To determine the frequency, subtypes and characteristics of conditional insubordination in standard British and American English. As discussed at length in Section 3.5, Stirling’s analysis refers exclusively to Australian English and Scottish Standard English, as represented in two corpora of Australian English – the *Macquarie Dictionary Corpus* and the *General Practice Corpus* – and one corpus of Scottish English – the *HCRC Map Task Dialogue Database*, which comprises 128 dialogues and 151,455 words altogether (Stirling 1999: 283). These several databases provide very interesting insights on ‘isolated’ *if*-clauses in those two varieties of English, but naturally tell us nothing about usage in the two ‘supranational’ varieties, namely, British English and US American English.

Neither Australian English nor Scottish Standard English diverge dramatically from the common core of ‘World Standard English’ (McArthur 1987: 11), and thus share fundamental similarities with the two mainstream varieties above mentioned. Yet their status as distinct varieties of English is also undeniable. In the case of Australian English, its recognition as a variety in its own right is of long standing, differences with respect to British and American usage pertaining to phonology, but also, if perhaps less conspicuously, to grammar (for discussion see, among others, Schneider 2011: 112-122; Trudgill & Hannah 2008 [1982]: 21-35).

As regards Scottish Standard English, so far it has attracted little attention as a separate variety, except with respect to its phonological features. Other than this, however, it has not usually been credited with displaying grammatical features sufficiently different from standard British English grammar to merit attention, and this no doubt accounts for the fact that it has virtually no place in the research field of World Englishes (see, e.g., Kachru 1988, among many others). Recent research, however, has argued that this view of Scottish English is too narrow and that it also exhibits grammatical variation with respect to British standard grammar, often manifested not so much as differences in the underlying grammar itself, but rather as probabilistic differences in the relative weight or distribution of certain grammatical elements (see in particular the discussion in Schützler, Gut and Fuchs forthcoming).

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It follows, therefore, that one of the goals of the chapters that follow is to clarify the extent to which conditional insubordination is widespread, or not, in the two varieties of English under analysis in this dissertation, namely, British Standard English and US American Standard English, especially in comparison with the varieties examined by Stirling (1999).

(2) Stirling's (1999) study is relatively narrow in scope, as it focuses exclusively on isolated (i.e., insubordinated) *if*-clauses. The discussion in the preceding chapters has made it abundantly clear, however, that the nature of insubordinated conditional clauses cannot be properly understood if they are examined in isolation, as they form part of a shared functional 'space' which also comprises other constructions capable of conveying directive meaning, such as imperatives and prototypical conditionals. My analysis, therefore, takes this into account by offering in

Chapter 6 a detailed comparison of those three constructions and their uses in Contemporary English.

(3) Finally, a fundamental question regarding insubordinated *if*-clauses concerns their grammatical status, i.e., whether they should be classified as incomplete utterances, as elliptical sentences or as a minor sentence type. Although Stirling (1999) devotes some space to the grammatical status of what she calls ‘isolated *if*-clauses’, the topic certainly merits more detailed discussion. In the remainder of this dissertation, I will therefore expand on this issue by considering clauses of this kind from the perspective of Evans’s (2007, 2009) notion of insubordination and its application in the context of Thetical Grammar (Kaltenböck, Heine and Kuteva 2011; Heine, Kaltenböck and Kuteva forthcoming), paying attention to the different functions that insubordinated *if*-clauses may perform in spoken British and American English.

## 4. The corpora and the data retrieval

### 4.1. The selection of the corpora

The corpus study in this dissertation is based on data from several spoken corpora of contemporary English. As is well known, most changes in language appear first in the spoken medium and move then progressively to writing. Furthermore, previous research suggests that conditional clauses are more frequent in spoken English and that this medium is also the preferred one for insubordinated *if*-clauses (cf. Chapters 2 and 3). For my purposes, I have selected corpora from the British and American English varieties which allow for a contrastive analysis in order to examine whether cross-variety differences in frequency and use can be identified. As detailed below, the corpus selected to represent British English contains material from contexts with different degrees of formality, whereas the American English data comprises contexts where the language used tends to be formal as well as texts representing more informal uses of English. These differences will be particularly relevant for Chapter 6 since they will enable an analysis of the pragmatic uses of insubordinated *if*-clauses in contemporary language.

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More specifically, I have analyzed data extracted from the following corpora:<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> In addition to the corpora detailed in this section, searches were also made in the *Yahoo-based Contrastive Corpus of Questions and Answers* (YCCQA), compiled by Hendrik De Smet, based on the questions and answers submitted by users of the Yahoo Answers website from 2006 to 2009. It consists of question-answer interactions between internet users, the language represented in the corpus being characteristically informal. This corpus was selected because given the directive nature attributed to insubordinated *if*-clauses, they were expected to be found in an environment where requests were likely to be made. Unfortunately, no cases of directive *if*-clauses, whether insubordinated or not, were found in this corpus.

- a. The *Diachronic Corpus of Present-Day Spoken English* (DCPSE; Aarts and Wallis 2006; <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/english-usage/projects/dcpse/>). It is a parsed corpus of spoken English containing more than 400,000 words from the *London-Lund Corpus* (LLC) and 400,000 words from the *British Component of the International Corpus of English* (ICE-GB). The *London-Lund Corpus* is the spoken part of the *Survey of English Usage Corpus*, founded by Randolph Quirk. It contains 510,576 words of spoken English from the 1960s to 1976. The corpus is divided into 'texts' of 5,000 words each which were transcribed and prosodically annotated (incorporating tone units, onsets, stresses, etc.). Many scholars have used the LLC for their research, resulting in hundreds of publications, most notably Quirk et al's (1972, 1985) grammars of contemporary English. In turn, the ICE-GB is composed of spoken and written texts, distributed over thirty-two text categories. The material dates from the early 1990s. The corpus contains textual markup, wordclass tags, and has been fully grammatically annotated (tagged and parsed), all the sentences/utterances in the corpus having been assigned a tree structure.

The resulting DCPSE is fully grammatically annotated and all its sentences have been given a detailed parse tree. In all, it contains 87,188 parse trees, comprising a total of 885,436 words of English. Recently, the sound files have become available, although too late for their inclusion in the present study. The corpus contains data from the following text categories:<sup>6</sup>

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6 Figures have been rounded down to the lower thousand of words; the number of conversations for each text-type is indicated between brackets.



Face-to face conversation	Formal (28)	90,000 words
	Informal (126)	403,000 words
Telephone conversations (14)		47,000 words
Broadcast discussions (28)		89,000 words
Broadcast interviews (14)		43,000 words
Spontaneous commentary (32)		95,000 words
Parliamentary language (7)		21,000 words
Legal cross-examination (3)		9,000 words
Assorted spontaneous speech (7)		21,000 words
Prepared speech (21)		63,000 words
Total (200)		881,000 words

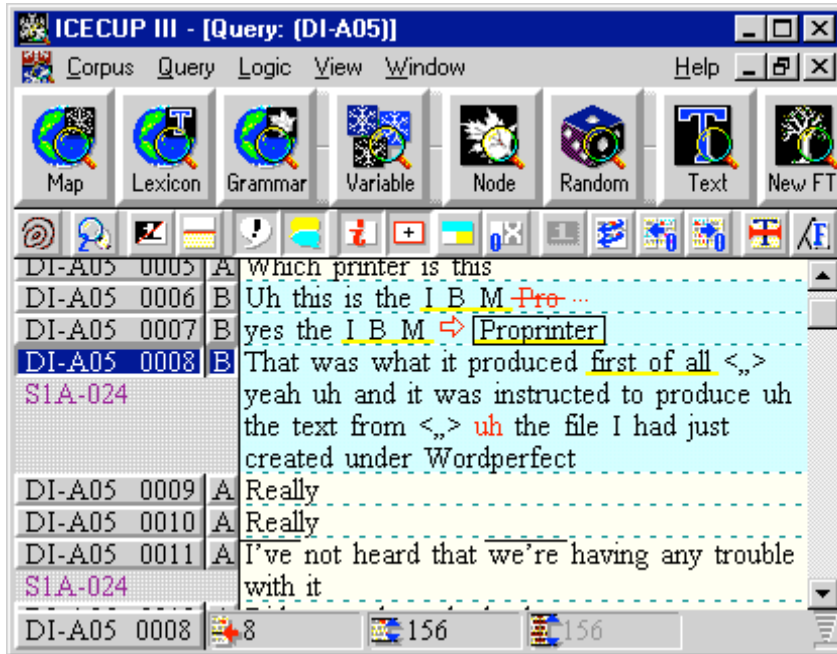
Table 3: *Number of words per text-type in the DCPSE*

The code of each example shows the following structure “DI-F22 0017”. The first three letters refer to the text-type the token belongs to, the following figure represents the number of the recording while the last one stands for the turn the example has in the conversation. Text-types are classified as follows:

DI-A: Formal face-to-face conversation from the ICE-GB component	DL-A: Formal face-to-face conversation from the LLC component
DI-B: Informal face-to-face conversation from the ICE-GB component	DL-B: Informal face-to-face conversation from the LLC component
DI-C: Telephone conversation from the ICE-GB component	DL-C: Telephone conversation from the LLC component
DI-D: Broadcast discussion from the ICE-GB component	DL-D: Broadcast discussion from the LLC component
DI-E: Broadcast interview from the ICE-GB component	DL-E: Broadcast interview from the LLC component
DI-F: Spontaneous commentary from the ICE-GB component	DL-F: Spontaneous commentary from the LLC component
DI-G: Parliamentary language from the ICE-GB component	DL-G: Parliamentary language from the LLC component
DI-H: Legal-cross examination from the ICE-GB component	DL-H: Legal-cross examination from the LLC component
DI-I: Assorted spontaneous speech from the ICE-GB component	DL-I: Assorted spontaneous speech from the LLC component
DI-J: Prepared speech from the ICE-GB component	DL-J: Prepared speech from the LLC component

Table 4: *Code per text-type in the DCPSE*

The corpus is available in CD-ROM format and incorporates its own software, which includes an interface that allows the queries. Figure 1 below provides a snapshot of the query interface of the *DCPSE*, which shows its great complexity.



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Figure 3: Interface of the DCPSE

- b. The *Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English* (SBC, Du Bois, Chafe, Meyer, Thompson, Englebretson and Martey 2000-2005; <http://www.linguistics.ucsb.edu/research/santa-barbara-corpus>), which contains 249,000 words of mostly informal spoken American English. This corpus is based on a large body of recordings of naturally occurring spoken interaction from all over the United States. The SBC represents a wide variety of speakers of different regional origins, ages, occupations, genders, and ethnic and social backgrounds. The predominant form of language use represented is face-to-face conversation, but the corpus also documents other text categories representing the language people use in their everyday lives: telephone conversations, card games,

food preparation, on-the-job talk, classroom lectures, sermons, story-telling, town hall meetings, tour-guide spiels, etc. The *SBC* also forms part of the *International Corpus of English (ICE)*, providing the main source of data for the spontaneous spoken portions of the American component of the *ICE*.

The corpus contains 60 different conversation recordings on topics unrelated to one another; there is no classification of material per text-type but rather several summaries of the contents of each conversation as well as extralinguistic information about the participants in the exchange; for example: in file *SBC001* we find a student of equine science as the main speaker telling Lenore (a visitor and near stranger) about her studies. Doris, the main speaker's mother, is doing housework, but joins the conversation near the end to discuss friends of their family. On the other hand, file *SBC031* is a face-to-face conversation recorded in a restaurant where two sisters (in their late twenties) and their mother discuss what to order for lunch, interact with the waitress and talk about family and friends while waiting for their food. There is no coding format for the examples either; they are to be referred only by signalling the corresponding conversation where they are issued: *SBC001*, *SBC002* and so on.

The corpus does not provide any software of its own but the files of the conversations are to be downloaded in *.trn* format, as shown in Figure 4. Since there is no search engine in the corpus, the searches for occurrences of *if*-clauses were made by means of the search tool in the *.trn* format.

JENN: I am,  
 .. I am <HI no=t HI> mean to you all the time.  
 BILL: ... Look how mean you're being.  
 JENN: ... [<HI Well look how mean she's be>][Sing HI>2].  
 RICHARD: [-Jenn you're crue=1].  
 LAURA: [2Look2].  
 DON: [3Oh that's wonderful3].  
 BILL: [300 .. 003]  
 .. Guilt.  
 MARY: Looks uh,  
 BILL: [-Lisbeth].  
 LEANNE: [Now it looks] so good.  
 MARY: So good.  
 DON: It looks lovely.

Figure 4: Interface of the SBC

- c. The *Corpus of Spoken, Professional American-English* (CSPA; Barlow 2000; <http://www.athel.com/cpsa.html>), for formal spoken American English, which includes transcripts of conversations occurring between 1994 and 1998, the seventeen files comprising the corpus containing over 2 million words. It consists primarily of short interchanges by approximately 400 speakers that are centered on professional activities broadly tied to academics and politics, including academic politics. The CSPA is divided into two main sub-corpora. The first sub-corpus is made up of transcripts of The White House press conferences which contain some policy statements by politicians and White House officials, but consist mainly of question and answer sessions. The second sub-corpus is a record of faculty meetings and Committee Meetings held at other various locations to discuss the creation of different kinds of national tests. In this second sub-corpus the interactions include questions, but also involve statements and discussion of issues.

The different files in the CSPAE have to be downloaded in html.txt format, as shown in Figure 5, and in order to search for a particular feature, a concordance programme needs to be used. For the coding of examples, only the file code can be provided: WH94, WH95, WH96A, WH96B, WH97A and WH97 for conversation recordings belonging to the White House press conferences, and COMM597, COMM697, COMM797, COMM897, COMMA8A97, COMR6A97, COMR6B97, COMR797, FACMT95, FACMT96, FACMT97 for Committee and Faculty meetings.

[SP-JOHNSON:SP] Good afternoon. As all of you know I think, there's been a couple of things this morning which have focused very heavily on terrorism. And before we start the main part of the briefing with Mike today I thought it would be a good opportunity for some of you to ask some questions if you had them about some items that might be remaining from this morning.

We have with us today to answer your questions, Mark Richard, the Deputy Assistant Attorney General in the Criminal Division who would be glad to address any questions you might have about the International Crime Control Act of 1996 that the President introduced in his speech this morning. We have Phil Wilcox, the Ambassador-at-large for Counterterrorism from the State Department. He'll be glad to answer more general questions about terrorism and our work with our allies and partners abroad. And we also have Robert Kyle, the Senior Director for International Economic Policy from the NEC and NSC staff, who would be glad to address questions you might have about the Iran and Libya Sanctions Act of 1996.

Figure 5: *Interface of the CSPAE*

#### 4.2. The data retrieval

The first step in the analysis was to search for instances of *if* in all three corpora described above, either by using the search tools provided in the corpus or by means of a concordance programme, specifically Wordsmith. Once the results were obtained, a manual analysis followed through which repetitions of the conjunction and *ifs* that did not introduce any clause were

discarded from the analysis. The remaining tokens were then classified according to their status as prototypical conditional clauses, conditional clauses whose main clause is supplied by the context, conditional clauses expressing directive meaning, insubordinated *if*-clauses and other types of *if*-clauses, the latter category including *wh*-clauses, comparative clauses introduced by *as if*, *what if*-clauses, verbless clauses introduced by *if*, and indirect conditional clauses. For *if*-clauses unconnected to a main clause, an analysis of the linguistic context was also necessary in order to retrieve a potential matrix clause from it.

In a second phase of the analysis, whose results are discussed in Chapter 6, I carried out another search for *let*-clauses, which was done automatically either using the interface of the *DCPSE* or search tools, i.e., Wordsmith, in the case of *SBC* and *CSPA*. The search for imperative clauses was far more complex and laborious than that of *if*-clauses. Since there was no automatic way of searching for imperatives in the corpora, I had to read all the material from the three corpora and extract the imperative clauses found. This process was tough and very time consuming, and in order to avoid missing certain tokens due to lack of concentration or tiredness of reading, a great amount of time was devoted to re-readings of the material. Once the examples were extracted, they were classified according to their illocutionary force, a process which will be detailed in Chapter 6.





## 5. A corpus-based study of insubordinated *if*-clauses in spoken British and American English: a grammatical characterization

### 5.1. Introduction

This chapter is dedicated to the empirical study of insubordinated *if*-clauses as represented in the three corpora described in Chapter 4. By considering the examples retrieved from the corpora, insubordinated *if*-clauses will be characterized grammatically. The chapter opens with the distribution of the *if*-clauses found in the material and moves then to discuss the cases that have been excluded from the analysis. The remainder of the chapter is devoted to the detailed examination of insubordinated constructions considering their distribution accross corpora and characterizing them formally paying attention to their grammatical status, the type of subjects they take, their tense and their modality.

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### 5.2. Distribution of *if*-clauses in the corpora

Tables 5-7 show the distribution of *if*-clauses in the corpora analyzed. As can be seen, the majority of cases in the three corpora (64.3%, 54.5% and 55.8%, respectively) correspond to prototypical conditional clauses. Also numerous are cases of *if*-clauses expressing an indirect condition (32.6% in British English, 43.8% in informal American English and 42% in formal American English) which represent about one third of the data

in each corpus. Insubordinated *if*-clauses represent a small percentage of *if*-clauses in the three corpora, 2%, 1.6% and 1.9%, but are attested in the two varieties of English analyzed. The picture is completed by subordinate *if*-clauses whose meaning is directive (0.6% in the DCPSE, 0.1% in the SBC and 0.3% in the CSPAE) and conditional clauses that appear unconnected to a main clause, the latter being supplied by the context. This pattern is attested only sporadically (0.5%) in spoken British English.

Type of clause	Number of occurrences	Percentage	Normalised frequency per 100,000 words
Prototypical conditional clauses	1,843	64.3%	216.8
Prototypical conditional clauses with contextually supplied main clause	14	0.5%	1.65
Subordinate <i>if</i> -clauses with directive meaning	17	0.6%	2
Insubordinated <i>if</i> -clauses	58	2%	6.8
Other types of <i>if</i> -clauses	935	32.6%	110
<b>Total</b>	2,867	100%	

Table 5: *Distribution of if-clauses in the DCPSE*

Type of clause	Number of occurrences	Percentage	Normalised frequency per 100,000 words
Prototypical conditional clauses	478	54.5%	192
Prototypical conditional clauses with contextually supplied main clause	-	-	-
Subordinate <i>if</i> -clauses with directive meaning	1	0.1%	0.04
Insubordinated <i>if</i> -clauses	14	1.6%	5.6
Other types of <i>if</i> -clauses	384	43.8%	154.2
<b>Total</b>	877	100%	

Table 6: *Distribution of if-clauses in the SBC*

Type of clause	Number of occurrences	Percentage	Normalised frequency per 100,000 words
Prototypical conditional clauses	2,330	55.8%	116.5
Prototypical conditional clauses with contextually supplied main clause	-	-	-
Subordinate <i>if</i> -clauses with directive meaning	11	0.3%	0.5
Insubordinated <i>if</i> -clauses	78	1.9%	3.9
Other types of <i>if</i> -clauses	1,754	42%	87.7
<b>Total</b>	4,173	100%	

Table 7: *Distribution of if-clauses in the CSPAE*

### 5.3. *If*-clauses excluded from the analysis

The majority of the clauses in Tables 5-7 have been disregarded from the present analysis. Let us begin by commenting on what I have labelled ‘Other types of *if*-clauses’, a miscellaneous category into which several types of structures have been classified, namely, clauses introduced by *what if*, comparative clauses introduced by *as if*, verbless *if*-clauses, expressions of the type *If I may* or *If you like* expressing an indirect condition, and indirect questions introduced by *if*. Of these, the most outstanding group is that of clauses introduced by *if* expressing an indirect question, *if* being interchangeable by *whether* in such cases (cf. Quirk et al. 1985: 1029). These *if*-clauses commonly depend in the material on verbal predicates like *wonder*, *ask* or *know*. A couple of examples from my corpus follow here under (184) and (185).

(184) I wonder ***if it's this horrible*** – (SBC003)

(185) And she rang up the other day to ask ***if I needed to see somebody and she could help*** and I said no <,,> (DCPSE DI-A13 0155)

As *if*-clauses, as in (186) below, have also been discarded from the study. In such cases, *if* forms part of the complex subordinator *as if*, introducing a comparative clause (cf. Quirk et al. 1985: 1110; see also Section 3.5 above), which can also be expressed by means of the subordinators *as though* and *like*. These *as if*-clauses function as predication adjuncts, and introduce finite as well as non-finite *to*-infinitive clauses and verbless clauses.

- (186) It does not hamper it hasn't hampered so far these two international sides who have really looked ***as if they've something important to play for*** (DCPSE DI-F12 0025)

As regards clauses introduced by *if* of the types shown in (187)-(189), they were not considered for analysis either since they express an indirect condition that is dependent on the act of the utterance rather than on the main clause. They are analyzed as style disjuncts, rather than as adjuncts, being used by the speaker to gain permission from the hearer to express an opinion whose interpretation depends on the hearer's understanding.

- (187) Well let's go on ***if we may*** to the other sort of legacy of Harold Wilson 's Prime Ministership (DCPSE DI-D20 0041)

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- (188) I was paying pretty close attention here and I don't really see much of a problem, ***if I may say so*** (SBC023)

- (189) And I would also say ***if I may*** that Mexico, though it certainly has very great challenges ahead, has met a lot of challenges and is becoming once again the very substantial trading partner with the United States that it has been and has the potential for ever more being in the future (CSPAEC COMM697)

In turn, verbless *if*-clauses are considered by Quirk et al. (1985: 1090) as pro-clauses whose implied subject is their matrix clause, or at least part of it. The majority of my corpus examples of this kind include the adjectives *necessary* and *possible*, as exemplified in (190) and (191) below, although there also some occurrences of *if so*, as in (192).

(190) so any time in July and August but uh <,> not too far into August *if possible* <,> (DCPSE DL-B22 0856)

(191) but then after that I mean the Idea of the fact that he so I asked him why it was pointed shaped here whereas it 's <,> <,> flat this side and he said well that 's just because it 's then finger <,> thumb and finger shaped <,> so it 's designed in fact to be held *if necessary* (DCPSE DL-B22 0856)

(192) What about the extent of the embargo -- does this still cover companies which make oil equipment that they sell to oil companies? *If so* does it cover the whole-- (CSPAEC COMM797)

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Finally, *what if*-clauses are classified by Quirk et al. (1985: 840-841) as irregular *wh*-questions which are used to express an inquiry in the line of "What happens if...?" as shown in example (193) from the DCPSE. Questions of this type can also be used as directives, but no instances of this kind have been attested in any of the three corpora. They may also have the meaning "What does it matter if...?", implying a supposition.

(193) So *what if I chose this wallpaper* <,> uhm what shall we do with this <,> (DCPSE DI-B69 0037)

Although non-conditional clauses represent at least one third of the data in each corpus, as expected, the largest group of *if*-clauses found is that of prototypical conditional clauses, including both open and hypothetical conditionals (see Chapter 2 for an exhaustive description of conditional classes), as (194) and (195), conditionals introduced by *even if*, as exemplified in (196), as well as conditionals in correlative structures of the type *if...then*, as in (197). Finally, rhetorical conditionals were not attested in the corpora.

- (194) And it *that has to be done repeatedly throughout the survey* **if it's going on a long time** so that they can pick out people who are systematically <,> reading either high or low blood pressures (DCPSE DI-B74 0229)
- (195) And so **if you didn't order tickets last year** you would be under the new system. (CSPA E FCT96)
- (196) He should have realized that the pace is woefully slow and should have made the move **even if he's got to sacrifice himself** (DCPSE DI-F07 0070)
- (197) **If god has already determined that this person...commits these acts...then** there can be no responsibility on the part of the actor (SBC025)

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As has been commented on extensively in Chapter 3, insubordinated *if*-clauses are formally marked in that they lack a main clause. However, not all occurrences of *if*-clauses without a main clause can be classified in this group. The material for British English contained some examples of *if*-clauses without a main clause which is clearly recoverable from the context. Given that this feature is crucial for the identification of insubordinated *if*-clauses, it will be discussed later on in this chapter (cf. Section 5.4.1). *If*-clauses of this kind usually constitute a response. Examples of this type from the corpora follow here under (198)-(201).

- (198) C: Thing is with brown if it's really smart that's fine  
C: but then if it s not they're not so smart that's fine as well  
C: you know  
C: Whereas that's really smart isn't it

A: Yeah

B: Smart <unclear-words>

C: It's more dressy isn't it

A: Yeah

B: It's more sort of fiftiesish <,,>

A: Mm

C: It's nice to have a contrast of colour

B: Yes

B: That's true

B: Mm

A: Yes

A: Otherwise you look like a black thing

C: *Especially **if it's black tie*** (DCPSE DI-B34 0216)

A: The length's nice <unclear-word> <,,>

C: I've got brown shorts <,,>

A: Show me <,,> <laughter>

Here, we can easily provide the conditional clause in bold type with a main clause along the following lines: "it's better to have a contrast of colour or you will look like a black thing especially if it's a black tie". In (199), (200) and (201), the underlined elements would constitute the main clause of the corresponding *if*-clauses, the resulting sentences being "if you so desire you can say acey-pacey", "you can still rise above it if you keep it up" and "it would not get nicked if we put it somewhere special". Declerck and Reed (2001: 383) consider that in these cases the consequent clause is dropped



to avoid repetition. These clauses resemble independent conditionals identified by D'Hartefelt in Dutch functioning as post-modifying constructions reported in Section 3.4.3; however, as has already been discussed, in English they cannot be considered cases of insubordinated clauses.

(199) A: Uhm <,> yes

A: Basically the <,> what are they talking about this

B: But I don't agree to this <,,>

A: You don't <,,>

B: Yeah

B: Course I do

A: That's good

B: Can I say acey-pacey <,>

A: ***If you so desire*** (DCPSE DI-B54 0009)

A: Uhm <,> yes

A: Uhm wh wh wh what were we going to do

A: Sorry

A: I was I was <unclear-words> again

A: Mmm <unclear-words>

A: Pardon

(200) A: Yes exactly <,>

B: But it shows though you can still <,> rise above it

B: try <,> ***if you keep it up*** <,> (DCPSE DI B36 0312)

B: It's like <,,> It 's like it's

B: I

A: You can

A: Of course you can if you can place it

(201) C: I was going to buy excellent vodka <,> as well because <unclear words>vodka

A: Yeah

B: Because we can keep it for ourselves right or we could we could sell it to people <,>

B: <unclear-syllable>

C: It could just get nicked

A: No

A: *Not if if we put it somewhere special like <,>* (DCPSE DI-B25 0188)

Finally, the data for British English (DCPSE) and formal American English (CSPAЕ) include cases of *if*-clauses connected to a main clause whose meaning is not hypothetical but directive, of the type described in Section 2.3.1.4. An example of this is given here under (202). The directive use of these clauses is analyzed in detail in Chapter 6 of this dissertation.

(202) A: You don't need it at the moment

B: Not yet I don't <,,><laughter>

B: I I might <laugh>

B: *I I'll be grateful if you lay it on when I do* (DCPSE DI A10 0023)

A: Yes

A: so you're not at the stage of needing uh meals on wheels or anything like that

#### 5.4. Insubordinated *if*-clauses

As discussed in Section 3.5.2, insubordinated *if*-clauses in English fall into two different categories, namely those conveying directive meaning and those expressing optative meaning, i.e. that express a wish on the part of the speaker. Table 8 shows the distribution of insubordinated *if*-clauses in the three corpora according to type: the majority of them (96%) belong to the directive type; only six examples, all of them coming from the British English corpus, are cases of insubordinated optative *if*-clauses.

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	DCPSE	SBC	CSPA	Total	%
Directive insubordinated <i>if</i> -clauses	52	14	78	144	96%
Optative insubordinated <i>if</i> -clauses	6	-	-	6	4%
<b>Total</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>78</b>	<b>150</b>	<b>100%</b>

Table 8: Distribution of insubordinated *if*-clauses in the corpora

The scarcity of examples featuring optative insubordinated *if*-clauses in my corpus may be due to the fact that, as Stirling (1999: 286; see also Section 3.5.2 above) explains, they are more commonly found in writing, especially in novels expressing the thoughts of a character in the way of “free indirect style”. I provide here some illustrative corpus instances under (203) to (205). In all of them, the *if*-clause clearly indicates a wish or a feeling of regret on the speaker’s part. According to Declerck and Reed (2001: 385), clauses of

this type are used as simple exclamations with a covert consequent clause whose meaning would refer to a potential missing experience.

(203) uhm and uh I mean that is <,> I mean quite asIde from what I I am gOing I 'm now going to Offer you <,> uh <,> we thought you know **if Only we can <,> sort of cast arOUnd and find sOMething <,> I 'd thought first of all <,> of some kind of resEArch assIstantshIp in the University of Edinburgh <,> in the University of Birmingham (DCPSE DL A02 0047)**

(204) D: and you're not <,,> withIn Any foreseeable fUture gOing to get a rEAlly hEAlthy effective opposItion which you 've got to have <,,> if you 're gOing to shake the gOvernment out of its complAcency

D: <,,> now the LIberal Party can prodUce <,,>this effective opposItion **if Only people will vote in sufficient nUmbers to put more Liberals back <,,>** ( DCPSE DL-D05 0162)

(205) A: Well that should be another six tackles

A: It is

A: Monsieur Sablerole waves play on <,,>

A: Belcher <,> merely <,> running into the hands of Platt <,,>

A: **If only Denis Betts could have picked that ball up and got it out to Offiah** (DCPSE DI-F04 0377)

A: But he couldn't <,,>

As can be seen, my examples include the intensifying adverb *only*, which also occurred in the majority of Stirling's instances of this type. Some of these examples (cf. (205)) represent a wish or regret in relation to an event

that took place in the past, so that nothing can be done about it at the moment of speaking, as shown by the use of the past tense modal *could*. Its meaning would be something along the following lines “I desire that X would be the case but it is not and it is very difficult or impossible to change this situation”. On other occasions, optative insubordinated *if*-clauses express a wish for some future event usually regarded as unlikely to come about (cf. (203) and (204) above).

As has already been mentioned (cf. Section 2.4.2.), Quirk et al. (1985: 841) consider clauses of this type as “irregular sentences”, since in their view their main clause is omitted, while Huddleston and Pullum et al. (2002: 945) label them “conditional fragments”.

Declerck and Reed (2001: 385) notice the similarity between clauses of this type and prototypical conditional clauses that may also serve the function of expressing a wish or regret and the consequence it would have had if it were fulfilled. Only one example of this kind was attested in my corpus, given below as (206), also featuring the adverb *only* and its modal verb also being marked for the past (*would*), thus conveying the meaning of a complaint.

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- (206) *If only the Spanish would lower their interest rates to weaken the peseta then Mr Lamont would have more leeway to lower Britain's without the pound falling out of the Mechanism.* (DCPSE DI-J03 0051)

In addition to optative insubordinated *if*-clauses, the corpus material yields a total of 144 examples in which the *if*-clause is used with the illocutionary force of a directive, whether orders, requests, offers, etc. Since the detailed

analysis of the pragmatics of insubordinated *if*-clauses is the focus of Chapter 6, I offer here just a few illustrative examples of this type of clauses in the corpus; (207) expresses an order, (208) shows a request, while (209) issues an offer.

(207) <SP>STRICKLAND:</SP> I think we can start even though Marsha isn't here. Maybe someone else might have a point to make about items. ***So if you would gather around the table.*** (CSPA E COMR 6A97)

(208) A: We'd better do that <,> to just to check what it is  
 A: and then I can give you an oral dose of something <,> and uhm  
 <,> we'll see  
 if that does the trick <,>  
 A: So we'll send off a vaginal swab <,,>  
 A: What's the date  
 A: It's the fifth <,,>  
 A: ***If you'll just come next door*** (DCPSE DI-A20 0159)  
 B: Ok

(209) Matthew: ***If you'd like to see that.***

JUDGE: Okay (SBC 053)

Although all the examples of insubordinated *if*-clauses attested in the corpora express desires, orders or requests on the part of the speaker, they may also be used to issue threats or warnings of the type *If you don't stop doing so*, where the implication would be "stop it or something bad will happen" (cf. Section 3.2.3 above).

As a final remark, since the *DCPSE* covers a relatively long period of time (from the 1960s to the 1990s), I checked the frequency and evolution of insubordinated *if*-clauses in this corpus. Insubordinated *if*-clauses of the optative type have been documented, according to the *Oxford English Dictionary* (s.v. *if* conj. 7), from the medieval period, its variant with *only* (*If only Miss Hawkins would get a job...*) developing later. The directive type seems to have emerged more recently. The oldest example in the corpus dates back to 1961 followed by fourteen instances from the 1970s, all the remaining insubordinated *if*-clauses, 37 in all, having been issued in the early 1990s. This data cannot be used to draw definite conclusions on the evolution of these structures over time, since the corpus does not contain material from the 1980s. However, it seems to confirm that insubordinated *if*-clauses are becoming more and more popular in present-day spoken British English. Further research would, however, be necessary in order to confirm or refute this tendency.

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#### **5.4.1. Grammatical status of insubordinated *if*-clauses**

A particularly interesting issue in the study of insubordinated *if*-clauses concerns their grammatical status. In this section, several grammatical tests are applied in order to check whether they should be classified as incomplete utterances, elliptical sentences or a minor sentence type. As will be seen, I argue here that we should consider them as full, independent clauses, in the light of grammatical tests such as ellipsis, their ability to govern dependent clauses and their ability to coordinate with main clauses.

The fact that insubordinated *if*-clauses lack a main clause may lead us to consider them as incomplete utterances or elliptical from full

conditional clauses. Incomplete utterances are described by Matthews (1981: 40-42) as utterances in which the speaker stops not because he/she expects the hearer to supply the missing words, but for circumstantial reasons, such as the speaker's reformulation of the utterance in progress or an interruption by another participant. The resulting fragments have no standing of their own. For Matthews, such utterances are of "no concern to syntax, except a source of confusion in our data" (1981: 41). Examples classified as insubordinated *if*-clauses in this dissertation are those that were clearly intended to be complete.

One of the key aspects of the process of insubordination as explained by Evans (2007) (Section 3.2.1. above) is that of ellipsis. Authors such as Haegeman (2003: 320), for instance, assume that clauses of the type *If you will come this way* are to be seen as elliptical with an implied associated clause. Taking Quirk et al.'s (1985: 884-888) definition of ellipsis, the key concept here is the principle of 'verbatim recoverability', that is, the actual words missing in the structure and whose meaning is implied must be recoverable. So, for a construction to be considered elliptical it needs to fulfill the following criteria:

1. The ellipted words are precisely recoverable.
2. The elliptical construction is grammatically "defective."
3. The insertion of the missing words results in a grammatical sentence with the same meaning as the elliptical sentence.
4. The missing expression is recoverable from the neighbouring text (rather than from the structural or situational context).



5. The missing words are an exact “copy” of the antecedent, that is, they are present in the text in exactly the same form.

In what follows, I examine whether the *if*-clauses without a main clause retrieved from the corpora can be considered as subordinate clauses with an ellipted apodosis. Let us take example (210), from the *DCPSE*, and (211), from the *CSPA*E, which I provide in their contexts, for the sake of illustration.

(210) A: Now before we start the engines up I would like you all to go to your machines <,> and we will wheel them around the course so that you get the feel of them <,,>

A: Right

A: We're going to do this one at a time <,>

A: ***If you'd like to go to your machines*** (DCPSE DI-F22 0017)

A: ***and Gareth if you'd like to lead*** <,,> (DCPSE DI-F22 0018)

A: Right now take the bike off its side stand and hold its weight on the handlebars <,>

A: Keep the bike leaning towards you slightly not on your hip but towards you

A: ***If you'd like to take a right-hand circle*** <,> ***quite tight*** <,> ***quite gently*** (DCPSE DI-F22 0021)

A: Now use the brake if necessary to stop it <,>

A: Apply it very slowly <,>

A: No not not too jerkily

A: That was too hard a snatch

A: Treat it very gently

A: That's much better <,>

A: That's it

(211) <SP>DOSSEY:</SP> Yes. I'd like to thank you for your testimony. And again, if you have written comments, I wish that you would give those to Sharon so that they can become a part of the public record. Thank you. I'd like to announce that we will take a little break now until 11:00 o'clock. And we'll resume then. And the first person I have on the list is Ella Miyamoto, representing the PTA. ***So if we could be ready to go at 11:00 o'clock.*** Thank you. (CSPAЕ COMM597)

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<SP>DOSSEY:</SP> I have had one request. And I know it's partly due to the soundsystem in the room. But if the speakers can project, it will help the people at the main table here to be able to hear the points, as well as speakers at the table. Again, I remind you to speak into the mike, but probably also to speak with a little bit of volume in order that everyone can hear the comments made.

Close inspection of the context for each of the instances of directive insubordinated *if*-clauses, in (210) and (211) reveals that there is no element that could constitute their main clause, since they are performed as independent speech acts. Moreover, considering criterion 3 above, given that we cannot retrieve from the context any material to fill the main clause slot, we cannot know whether its insertion would result in a grammatical sentence with the same meaning and implications. Rather, we have to assume that the presupposed main clause would be on the lines of the speaker's gratitude or wish for the act requested, as seen in example

(202) above, which shows the use of a prototypical conditional clause for directive purposes (*I'll be grateful if you lay it on when I do*). All the insubordinated *if*-clauses in my data were classified as independent after an exhaustive analysis of their conversational context, in order to ensure that it was not possible to retrieve a main clause from the context in any form.

As regards criterion 2 on the grammaticality of the clause, insubordinated *if*-clauses cannot be considered as defective because they are treated by speakers as complete, functional clauses. They have the illocutionary force of an indirect directive and they are likely to be understood and receive a response on the part of the hearer. As we can see in example (210) above, the instructions issued by means of the insubordinated *if*-clauses attract the expected response since the speaker continues given further orders and expresses his satisfaction with the hearers' acts by means of *that's it*. In the case of (211), the conversation goes on after the issuing of the insubordinated *if*-clause, with none of the addressees asking for clarification. Hence, the meaning of these insubordinated clauses is not ambiguous and therefore, "shortcircuits inference" (cf. Brown and Levinson 1987: 290) in the way conventionalized structures do, so that where A may be inferred from B, the stating of B with the intention of conveying A can become, by routine and association, an "idiom" for B. Consider in this respect examples (212)-(214), in which the hearers clearly consider insubordinated *if*-clauses as sufficiently informative, as becomes clear from their responses. In (212), the judge answers affirmatively; in (213), the addressees go on to perform the action proposed by the speaker, as can be gathered from the description of noise and footsteps in the

annotation; finally, in (214), the hearer requests a clarification of which spider plant is meant by the speaker.

(212) MATTHEW: [*if you'd like to see that*]. (SBC 053)

JUDGE: ...Okay.

(213) BEN: <*Okay folks, if you will please follow me now*>.

ENV: ((CROWD\_NOISE\_AND\_FOOTSTEPS)) (SBC 040)

(214) KAREN: you know *maybe if we could turn the spider plant around*.

SCOTT: ...Which one.

KAREN: ...The one that just looks kinda decrepit. (SBC017)

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As these examples demonstrate, insubordinated *if*-clauses in English have already reached the final stage of Evans's process of insubordination (see section 3.2.1.) since they are conventionally used as independent clauses with a meaning of their own.

We can also consider examples (210) to (214) from the point of view of Simone (2006) as stated in Section 3.4.2 in the discussion of Italian insubordinated conditional clauses. As Lombardi Vallauri (2010) explains, since insubordinated clauses fulfill the following criteria proposed by Simone we can consider them as independent constructions:

- i. these clauses are fully available to speakers in their language processing;
- ii. they possess a “constructional meaning”;
- iii. they convey a specific pragmatic force.

As has already been shown, the insubordinated clauses under analysis in this dissertation seem to be available to speakers and understandable to hearers, and they show a constructional meaning of their own and a specific pragmatic force which will be discussed in detail in Chapter 6.

Let us consider now the previous examples from the perspective of Discourse Grammar, as discussed in Section 3.3 in this dissertation. As has already been explained, this approach considers that insubordinated constructions are the result of a process of cooptation whereby a part of Sentence Grammar, a clause in this case, is used as a thetical (see Section 3.3.2. for further explanation). Cooptation is an instantaneous operation whose result is that the element coopted becomes independent as regards its syntax, semantics and prosody. As stated in Section 3.3.1 above, theticals show the following properties (Kaltenböck et al. 2011: 85):

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- a. They are syntactically independent, that is, unintegrated.
- b. They are typically set off prosodically from the rest of an utterance.
- c. Their meaning is non-restrictive.
- d. They tend to be positionally mobile.
- e. Their internal structure is built on principles of SG but can be “elliptic”.

Let us examine whether our examples show the features of a thetical. To begin with, as has been demonstrated so far in this chapter by considering ellipsis, they are syntactically independent units (feature a); as for property b, these clauses show punctuation marks that are indicative of the existence of an intonation of their own, as will be discussed in Section 5.4.4 below;

as regards their meaning (property c), they show a meaning of their own; as for their mobility (property d), insubordinated *if*-clauses appear both initially and finally when used in combination with other clauses, as will be seen later in this section; finally, as regards their form (property e), at first sight they seem to be elliptic but, as we have already demonstrated, they are not.

Coopted or insubordinated structures can, according to this approach, be reconstructed, but since the exact unit from which a coopted clause is no longer available, we have to assume that any reconstruction is hypothetical and of a general kind, similar to those proposed for examples (210) and (211) above.

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The insubordinated clauses analyzed in this study clearly belong to the category of constructional insubordinated clauses the perspective of theticals (see Section 3.3.4.2. above), since they are used as stand-alone clauses given their high degree of conventionalization, which makes it less necessary to have a link to context. In addition, a particular specific pragmatic function has also evolved for clauses of this type, as will be discussed in Chapter 6.

Further evidence from the corpus study supports the status of insubordinated *if*-clauses as non-subordinate, such as the fact that speakers attach to them dependent causal clauses, as in (215) to (218), and temporal clauses, as in (219). Although this feature does not characterize the clauses under analysis as independent, given that a subordinate clause can take another subordinate clause, it does indeed suggest that although there is no material in the context that can be considered as the main clause of these *if*-clauses, they are not considered as ambiguous or incomplete by

speakers. Example (219), for instance, can be paraphrased by means of the imperative construction “Hold on just half a minute while I put these potatoes out.”

(215) B: well *if you can really very handsomely lend me your car on Wednesday* that's me for Wednesday really because I shall go out to Stadlowe and get back a bit late to really go to anything <,> (DCPSE DL-B10 0619)

(216) B: *and if you can get here during daylight hours* because of course then the ones that they're just finishing off they haven't got Any elEctrics on <several unclear-syllables> (DCPSE DL-C03 0710)

(217) C: yes well *if you could come to our Office here* because the flats are just (DCPSE DL-C03 0696)

(218) A: *If we go through some very simple biochemistry* because as I'm a physicist I've got no standing on this (DCPSE DI-F21 0018)

(219) A: Yes uhm well *if you can hold on just half a minute* while I put these potatoes out (DCPSE DI-C05 0174)

Examples (220) and (221) are particularly interesting. In (220) the insubordinated *if*-clause occurs side by side with an *if*-clause which expresses a condition for the fulfillment of the situation in the insubordinated construction with the implication “Draw it on a bit of paper, in case you have a spare piece of paper.” In (221), the first *if*-clause expresses the uncertainty of the situation in the insubordinated *if*-clause, its meaning being “If you happen to come on Tuesday, come to my house and we'll have a coffee.”

(220) A: ***If you draw it on yeah on a bit of paper*** if you've got a spare piece of paper (DCPSE DI-B72 0094)

(221) C: uhm if you come over to Tuesday ***if you want to come up to my house and have a coffee*** (DCPSE DL-C04 0229)

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Coordination can also be used as a clue to determine the status of insubordinated *if*-clauses as independent clauses. Insubordinated *if*-clauses can appear in coordination with one another, thus constituting a sequence without a main clause, as in (222) below, as well as with other clauses which are clearly independent in status, as exemplified in (223), (224) and (225). It must be noted, however, that examples showing the correlation *if...then* are somehow problematic, given that the presence of the adverb *then* can indicate either a temporal relation, in which case the insubordinated *if*-clause would coordinate with another independent clause expressing a later event, or have a consequent meaning, in which the action of the second clause being dependent on the fulfillment of the condition expressed in the subordinate *if*-clause. The position taken here is the first one: consider; example (226), where the speaker proposes two actions to be carried out in order: first, the speaker and the addressees need to reconsider some aspects of what has previously been discussed and, after that, the question time will start.

(222) A: ***If you'd like to go to your machines*** (DCPSE DI-F22 0017)

A: ***and Gareth if you'd like to lead,*** (DCPSE DI-F220018)

(223) A: ***So if you if you will go downstairs and then you could look through these two postgraduate guides*** (DCPSE DI-A08 0135)

A: Uhm and then I'll show you where the others are



(224) JUDGE: ...Okay. *If I may look at that.* (SBC 053)

**And,.. have you shown that to uh Mister Collins?**

MITCHELL: [Yes please].

(225) ...So, *if you want to let him know and then...have him call me back...* (SBC028)

(226) <SP>LORD: </SP> Okay, *if we could step back for a minute, and then we'll come back to your questions on any of these subjects.*  
(CSPAЕ COMM797)

Example (227) is even more interesting. On the one hand, the *if*-clause constitutes the second conjoin of a coordinated structure. This is rather unusual, given the tendency for subordinate *if*-clauses to appear sentence-initially (cf. Huddleston and Pullum et al. 2002: 738; see also Section 2.5. ) and for insubordinated *if*-clauses in coordination with other independent clauses to occur typically as the first conjoin (cf. Mato-Míguez 2014). On the other hand, note that in (227) the *if*-clause appears in coordination with an interrogative clause, but it does not show the expected features of an interrogative, such as the presence of an auxiliary or inversion; we seem to have here a fixed form of the type “*if*+subject+verb in the present, as in (227) (or a modal verb in other cases) which speakers issue indistinctively as either declarative or interrogative clauses.

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(227) You might just want to open your green booklet to like pages 33, 34, and 35. And I'll try to at least orient you to what's here. And then, we can have a go at it.

<SP>MANDEL: </SP> Right. **Is there anyone who somehow doesn't have that with them and if you have an extra copy?** (CSPAЕ COMM797)

Finally, insubordinated *if*-clauses can also be used in combination with imperative clauses in order to soften their imposing nature, as in our example (210) above, part of which is repeated here for convenience as (228).

(228) A: **Keep the bike leaning towards you slightly not on your hip but towards you**

A: ***If you'd like to take a right-hand circle, quite tight, quite gently*** (DCPSE DI-F22 0021)

A: Now **use the brake if necessary to stop it**

In Section 3.4.1.1 we discussed several tests proposed by Schwenter (1999) to help distinguish in Spanish between what he calls independent *si*-clauses and conditional clauses identical in form to insubordinated constructions and which can show or not an ellipted protasis. As was stated in that section, although these tests are useful for Spanish, they do not seem to apply in English. It seems, therefore, that the uses of insubordinated conditionals are different in both languages: whereas in English insubordinated *if*-clauses are used with directive meaning, their Spanish counterparts are issued for the refutation of what has been previously said.

Let us consider those tests for English. The first test is related to the different way in which a prototypical subordinate *si*-clause and an insubordinated *si*-clause behave in combination with negative items, the latter needing an extra negative conjunction, as shown in (229) below.

(229) = (123) A: Tienes dudas sobre mi lealtad, ¿no?

‘You have doubts about my loyalty, right?’

B: *Si yo \*(no) tengo duda alguna.*

‘SI I don’t have any doubt.’

In the case of English, this test does not apply. Consider the constructed examples under (230a) and (230b),<sup>7</sup> in which both a prototypical subordinate clause and an insubordinated clause can take the same negative items.

(230)

a. *If you don’t shut up, I’ll scream.*

b. *If you don’t shut up!*

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The second test proposed by Schwenter (1999) had to do with coordination. While subordinate clauses in a conditional sentence can be coordinated in Spanish and each of them is introduced by its own *si*, as in (231a) independent *si*-clauses cannot be coordinated and *si* can only occur at the beginning of the utterance, as in (231b):

(231) = (124), (125)

a. *Si sigues asistiendo a clase y si estudias mucho*, vas a llegar lejos.

‘If you keep attending class and if you study a lot, you will go far.’

b. A: Julia no va a aprobar el examen.

‘Julia won’t pass the test.’

---

<sup>7</sup> The constructed examples for English have been checked for correctness with a native speaker, to whom I am grateful.

B: **¡Si ha estudiado mucho y (\*si) lo sabe todo!**

‘SI she’s studied a lot and she knows it all!’

Insubordinated *if*-clauses in English behave differently. As has already been shown, insubordinated *if*-clauses can be linked through coordination as in example (222) repeated here as (232) for convenience.

(232) = (222) ***If you’d like to go to your machines*** (DCPSE DI-F22 0017)

A: ***and Gareth if you’d like to lead***, (DCPSE DI-F220018)

Schwenter’s third test is related to the fact that Spanish subordinate conditional clauses can be embedded, whereas, trying to embed an independent *si*-clause may not be felicitous in some contexts, as in (233c), although it is possible in cases such as (233b).

(233) = (126), (127), (128)

a. ***Juan cree/dice que si tenemos dinero compraremos un coche nuevo.***

‘Juan thinks/says that if we have money we’ll buy a new car.’

b. [Will we be able to buy a car?]

***Juan cree/dice que si tenemos dinero...***

‘Juan thinks/says that if we have money...’

c. A: ***Vamos a comprar un coche nuevo.***

‘Let’s buy a new car.’

B: #***Juan cree/dice que si no tenemos dinero!***

‘Juan thinks/says that SI we don’t have money!’

By contrast, in English the embedding of both subordinate and insubordinated *if*-clauses seems to be allowed. Consider the following constructed examples from an insubordinated clause found in the corpora.

(234)

- a. He says that *if you'd like to see it, he will show you*.
- b. He says that *if you'd like to see it*.

The last test proposed by Schwenter has to do with the scope of sentential adverbs. Taking the adverb *obviamente* 'obviously', he explains that it may occur within the scope of *si* in a prototypical conditional clause, as (235a); on the contrary, in the case of insubordinated clauses, *si* must have scope over the adverb (cf. (235b)).

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(235) = (130), (131)

- a. ***Obviamente, si no vienen, no habrá fiesta.***

'Obviously, if they don't come, there won't be a party.'

- b. A: ¿Va a haber fiesta?

'Is there going to be a party?'

B: ***¡Si obviamente no vienen! (#Obviamente si...)***

'SI obviously they won't come!'

Again in English both subordinate and insubordinated clauses seem to behave similarly in this respect, as shown in the made-up examples below.

(236)

- a. Obviously, *if you want to come to the party, you are invited*.

b. Obviously, *if you want to come to the party*.

These tests show, therefore, that insubordinated *if*-clauses in English behave pretty much alike their subordinate counterparts, as opposed to *si*-clauses in Spanish when used to refute what has already been said, which show conspicuous differences to their prototypical subordinate counterparts. This may be due to the fact that, as mentioned before in this section, although both insubordinated *if*-clauses in English and *si*-clauses in Spanish share their conditional origin, they have developed quite distinct uses.

#### 5.4.2. Subjects in directive insubordinated *if*-clauses

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Stirling's (1999) analysis of insubordinated *if*-clauses in Australian English (see Section 3.5.2 above) revealed that in her data the majority of what she calls isolated *if*-clauses occurred with the pronoun *you* as subject, the first person pronoun *I* being only occasionally found. The analysis of my corpus data in this respect also shows a predominant use of second person subjects (63.9% of the total), as is expected for clauses expressing a directive in a conversation. However, instances of the first person singular pronominal subject *I* amount to one fifth of the data analyzed (21.5%), the majority of the relevant examples being attested in the CSPAE, specifically in cases where the utterance is a request for permission. More marginal is the presence of *we* (9%) including both the hearer and the speaker in the action proposed. Finally, third person subjects, namely, *it*, *someone*, *anyone*, *anybody* and *they*, are rare. Table 6 summarizes the subject distribution in the corpora. The examples that follow serve as illustration of a first person subject in the singular (237) and in the plural (240), a

second person subject (238), and a third person subject in the singular (239) and in the plural (241), respectively.

	DCPSE	SBC	CSPAE	Total	%
<i>I</i>	2	2	26	31	21.5%
<i>You</i>	44	11	37	92	63.9%
<i>It/someone/anyone/anybody</i>	2	1	4	7	4.9%
<i>We</i>	4	-	10	13	9%
<i>3rd person plural</i>	-	-	1	1	0.7%
<b>Total</b>	52	14	78	144	100%

Table 9: Subject distribution in directive insubordinated if-clauses in the corpora

(237) *If I could just add one small point.* And that is that there are no signs of wage-push inflation. Last month, there was no increase in terms of the private, non-supervisory wages, seasonally adjusted. (CSPAE FACMT95)

(238) A: no <,> no <,,> would you like to take some lunch <,> young PAULine

B: hm <,> that would be vEry nice please <,,>

A: uhm <,,> yes <,> well then <,> we will take some <,,>

A: yeah *if you wish to wash hands et cEtera <,,> alOng the cOrridor on the extreme rIght- hand right-hand side* (DCPSE DL-A07 0513)

B: Uhm <,> I don't thank you

(239) *...If anyone's interested in seeing what Perry looked like*, when he had his fourteen-foot tail. (H) um, when you come into the visitor

center, I don't know if- if .. anybody noticed this, (H) there's a TV monitor right after you – (SBC024)

(240) A: Well that 's a day we certainly want to come back to a bit later

A: *But if we could just for a moment concentrate on the latter years of the nineteenth century* (DCPSE DI-D12 0025)

A: How true was this terrible saying about the land

(241) <SP>ANDREWS:</SP> Let me welcome today Mr. Bill Moore for a special presentation. *If he and Dean Risa Palm would come forward*. Bill Moore is the founder and chairman of Trident Financial Corporation in Raleigh and a 1967 graduate of our MBA program. (CSPAЕ FACMT95)

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#### 5.4.3. Tense and modality of directive insubordinated *if*-clauses

Another variable taken into consideration in the corpus study is that of the verb phrase in the insubordinated *if*-clause. Table 10 shows the distribution of tense in my data.

	DCPSE	SBC	CSPAЕ	Total	%
Present	18	3	12	33	22.9%
Past	1	-	1	2	1.4%
Modal verb	33	11	65	109	75.7%
<b>Total</b>	52	14	78	144	100%

Table 10: *Tense distribution in directive insubordinated if-clauses in the corpora*

As directives naturally refer to a future action, past tense was not expected, and it just appeared twice in the corpora, as shown under (242) and (243).



(242) A: Could 've cleared that square yard on down that right-hand border in the sun put the seed boxes on the ground and the uh window glass over it <,,>

B: No

B: You can't blame her for that really can you

C: ***If you gave it to her Dad*** (DCPSE DI-B03 0018)

B: No

A: Well these damn plants have shot up in price so much over the last year or two

(243) I listened to what she was saying yesterday. And I think for our purposes, that might be great. I think that's the kind of thing that will possibly in some areas raise the hackles of parents who might otherwise support this kind of an exam.

<SP>MARTIN: </SP> ***Ann, if we limited that just to student demographic information.*** (CSPAÉ FACMT96)

<SP>KAHN: </SP> Like?

<SP>MARTIN: </SP> Race, ethnicity.

By contrast, cases showing a verb in the present tense were far more common, almost a fourth of the data analyzed. I provide a couple of examples under (244) and (245) below. These results are in accordance with Stirling's (1999) findings for Australian English, where the present tense was normally found in insubordinated *if*-clauses (see Section 3.5.2).

(244) LARRY: Yeah. ***If you --if you go over and have a look at the dining room*** (SBC 031)

SETH: You got a lotta glass in that room it looks like.

LARRY: yeah, ...and % we're gonna be making changes to the ... to the house too,

(245) A: They both produce sort of chemistry with the other's need <,> so they live together <,>

A: They only thrive in dingy <,> stagnant areas where the oxygen levels are fairly low <,>

A: *Now if you take that mirror* <,> the teeth aren't particularly clean and the <,>interstitial food impaction <,> (DCPSE DI-A18 0173)

A: They're areas of deprived oxygen <,> and we can begin to see if I blow that back you can just see <,> these ulcerations starting in between there

As shown in Table 10 above, the majority of my examples, however, show a modal verb, most commonly in the past. This finding runs counter Stirling's data for Australian English, since she reports that in that variety the present tense of the modal *can* or even the past tense of a modal were found only occasionally (cf. Section 3.5.2).

Quirk et al. (1985: 219) define modality as "the manner in which the meaning of a clause is qualified so as to reflect the speaker's judgement of the likelihood of the proposition it expresses being true". Nine central modal auxiliary verbs used to express modality are distinguished both by Quirk et al. (1985: 137) and by Biber et al. (1999: 483), namely, *can*, *could*, *may*, *might*, *shall*, *should*, *will*, *would* and *must*. Except for *must*, all these central modals can be grouped together into pairs with related meanings to distinguish those that can express past time and a higher degree of

hypotheticality (*could, might, should* and *would*) from those that cannot (*can, may, shall* and *will*). From a semantic point of view, modal verbs can be classified into three categories according to the modal meanings they express:

- a) volition/prediction: *will, would, shall*.
- b) permission/possibility/ability: *can, could, may, might*.
- c) obligation/necessity: *must*.

The meanings of permission, obligation and volition involve some kind of human control over the actions and events, while the meanings of possibility, necessity and prediction usually involve human judgement, rather than human control, of the events which are or are not likely to occur (cf. Quirk et al. 1985: 219).

Following the aforementioned semantic classification, the occurrences of modal verbs in directive insubordinated *if*-clauses in my corpus are distributed as shown in Table 11. The table also includes the figures for *want to* and *wanna* expressing volition.

		DCPSE	SBC	CSPAÉ	Total	%
Volition	<i>Will</i>	2	2	1	5	4.6%
	<i>Would</i>	12	2	10	24	22%
	<i>Want to/wanna</i>	5	4	5	14	12.9%
Permission/ Possibility	<i>Can</i>	5	1	10	16	14.7%
	<i>Could</i>	9	1	38	48	44%
	<i>May</i>	-	1	1	2	1.8%
<b>Total</b>		33	11	65	109	100%

Table 11: *Distribution of modality according to semantic value in directive insubordinated if-clauses in the corpora*

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The data from the table reveal that the directive insubordinated *if*-clauses analyzed show a clear preference for a modal verb in the past, which emphasizes the hypotheticality of the illocutionary act in question. This is not surprising since modals are often associated with particular pragmatic uses, e.g., in requests or offers, which insubordinated clauses are said to be put to, where the past forms tend to have implications of politeness (cf. Quirk et al. 1985: 220). Examples (246) and (247) illustrate the presence of modals expressing volition. It is worth noting that in some of the cases in which *would* occurs, it is found in combination with *like to*, a softening expression that mitigates the imposing force of the directive, as shown in example (248).

(246) A: And the information for <,> all the courses that we ‘ve got again is is here <,> uh on the ground floor

A: *So if you if you will go downstairs* and then you could look through these two postgraduate guides (DCPSE DI-A08 0135)

A: Uhm and then I'll show you where the others are

A: Probably you won't want to go down and look at that today but at least you 'll <,> know <unclear-syllable> what the structure is Uhm <,> and these are u uh uh uh U K based courses <,>

(247) BEN: <F Stay to your right folks, tour group coming out F>.

ENV: ((CROWD\_AND\_MACHINE\_NOISE))

BEN: .. Okay, *if you would wait for me on the blue couches on the balcony please.* (SBC 040)

(248) So maybe, start with, Pat. *If you would like to introduce yourself.*

We'll move around and do the panel members first (CSPAЕ FACMT95)

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In addition to examples containing a modal verb, the corpora also yielded several instances of *want to* and *wanna* expressing volition, which represent 10.1% of all directive insubordinated *if*-clauses, a vast majority of them belonging to the American English variety. Such examples cannot be said to show a modal verb proper, although the use of *want to/wanna* as a marker of modality is becoming more and more common in the contemporary language. As Krug (2000: 140) indicates, in a very large majority of cases a "monoclausal modal analysis is superior to a biclausal purposive reading (*in order*) to." Examples (249) and (250) illustrate this use of *want to/wanna*.

(249) MARCIA: *If you wanna go ahead and do it.* (SBC028)

... (TSK) Okay?

KRISTEN: You wanna put this kitty castration [down]?

LINDSEY:[Sure].

(250) <SP>QUALLS:</SP> No. And aren't the extended performance items automatic?

<SP>BINKLEY:</SP> That is what we have been talking about.

<SP>QUALLS:</SP> Okay.

<SP>BINKLEY:</SP> ***But if you want to substitute something instead.*** (CSPAЕ COMR6A97)

<SP>QUALLS:</SP> No, ma'am. We want to add to your tasks. We want you busy.

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Regarding modal verbs expressing permission or possibility, the use of *could* is far more frequent than that of its present counterpart *can*, especially in the formal language of American English represented in the CSPAЕ. Examples containing *can* or *could* are typically issued as requests and when these modals appear with a first person subject, the clauses are used as requests for permission on the part of the speaker, as shown in (251) to (253). *May* is used only marginally, as shown under (254).

(251) A: uhm what sort of time

B: Any time <,,>

B: I 'll fit in with you <,,>

A: ***uhm uhm if you can make it about three*** (DCPSE DL-C03 0445)

B: three <,> and where do I go to<,>

A: it 's l s uh do you know PanamErican COLlege

B: yes <,>

A: uhm it 's LEster Court <,,> which if you come in the SALad Street side <,>

(252) And toward that end, I printed out some questions off -- there is an exam apparently for ninth graders written by two people connected with NASA that was on the mathematically correct Web site, and another set of problems. *If someone could copy these and show them off.* (CSPAЕ FACMT95)

(253) <SP>VOICE:</SP> I still have my general math ears, you know.  
(Laughter)

<SP>GOLAN:</SP> *If I could take a small break.* (CSPAЕ FACMT96)

<SP>DOSSEY:</SP> Yes.

(254) I tried to contact him everything.. finally I uh ..contacted my attorney, ... I'd like to present this letter to you here.

JUDGE:...Okay. *If I may look at that.* (SBC053)

#### 5.4.4. Punctuation of directive insubordinated *if*-clauses

Punctuation also seems to support that the clauses under analysis in this chapter have reached the status of main clauses in present-day English. Unfortunately, an analysis of intonation patterns has not been possible here since the recordings of the corpora analyzed are not accessible. However, if we rely on the punctuation marks used in the transcriptions we can assume that speakers give them the intonation of independent clauses, since they are either followed by a final punctuation mark or by a pause. Nevertheless, the data from the corpora show some variation in the way

speakers use insubordinated *if*-clauses: although most of them have the form of declarative clauses, as in (255) and (256), interrogative clauses are also found, as in (257) and (258).

(255) A: *Now if you take that mirror* <.> The teeth aren't particularly clean and the <,> interstitial food impaction <,> (DCPSE DI-A18 0173)

(256) *If you wanna meditate it on more (Hx) on- on it more.* (SBC014)

(257) *If I could just make a suggestion?* (CSPAЕ FACMT96)

(258) We have one other guest who just joined us. *If you would introduce yourself?* (CSPAЕ COMMR6B97)

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This variation is also found when insubordinated *if*-clauses are attested in writing; consider in this respect examples (259) to (261).<sup>8</sup> The fact that insubordinated clauses occur with punctuation marks typical of independent clauses seems to suggest that insubordinated *if*-clauses have gone, at least, some way towards conventionalization.

(259) “*If you could lift up your top*, Mrs Brandon.”

(260) “Right, *if you'd just all move a bit closer together*,” he bellows. “Closer, please!”

(261) “Now, *if you could please make way for our other guests?*”

<sup>8</sup> Taken from Sophie Kinsella, *Shopaholic and baby* (2007: 13), Jane Costello, *Bridesmaids* (2008: 168) and Sophie Kinsella *I've got your number* (2012: 157), respectively.



## **5.5. Summary of the chapter**

In this chapter I have presented and discussed the results of the corpus analysis as regards the frequency of insubordinated *if*-clauses and their formal characteristics (e.g. type of subject, tense and modality). I have presented them as independent clauses, not necessarily as elliptical constructions. I have also shown that they fulfill the features presented in Section 3.3 above for theticals, and have provided further evidence in favor of this view by paying attention to their occurrence in coordinate constructions with main clauses and the punctuation they show in writing.



## 6. A corpus-based study on the variation between insubordinated *if*-clauses and other ways of conveying directive meaning

### 6.1. Introduction

This chapter is devoted to the pragmatic analysis of insubordinated *if*-clauses. Since such clauses are closely associated with the expression of directive meaning (cf. Section 5.4; see also Stirling 1999; Evans 2007; Mato-Míguez 2014a, 2014b, 2014c, 2016), a comparison of their frequency and uses with those of other forms of conveying the same illocutionary force seems in order here. The chapter opens with a description of the different types of clauses under analysis, namely imperative clauses, including both standard imperatives and those introduced by *let*, subordinate *if*-clauses with directive meaning and insubordinated *if*-clauses. It then proceeds to compare the four types of structures as regards their uses. Here, two variables are taken into account: first, the possible differences across varieties, British English vs. American English, and second, the possible differences across registers, that is, formal contexts vs. informal contexts.

## 6.2. Imperative clauses

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Imperative clauses are described by Huddleston and Pullum et al. as “a grammatically distinct class of clause whose members are characteristically used to issue directives” (2002: 853). Formally, they differ from declarative clauses in that they usually lack an explicit subject and have a verb in the base form, as in (262), or an auxiliary such as *do* in the base form followed by the infinitive of the main verb, as in (263) (cf. also Quirk et al. 1985: 827). Aikhenvald (2010: 93) explains that given that imperatives are about giving instructions to perform an action which is encoded in the verb, it seems logical for the verb to appear first in the construction, since the identity of those who are to perform that action is less important. Cases with an explicit subject are also possible, as in (264), but this is an optional rather than an obligatory element. The addition of *you* in such instances has, according to Huddleston and Pullum et al. (2002: 926), an emotive effect. In Quirk et al.’s (1985: 828) view, the presence of *you* frequently expresses strong irritation or insistence, but can also be used to distinguish the addressee of the imperative. Another way of making an imperative more insistent or persuasive is by adding *do* before the verb, but only in cases in which the subject is not explicit, as is the case in (263).

(262) Tell me the truth.

(263) Do tell me the truth.

(264) You tell me the truth.

The imperative verb lacks tense distinctions and does not allow for the presence of modal auxiliaries. Its uses are restricted to predications that

enable a dynamic rather than a static interpretation. Moreover, since imperatives refer to an action in the immediate or remote future, they are incompatible with time adverbials referring to past or habitual actions, such as *yesterday*, *usually*, etc. (cf. Quirk et al. 1985: 827-828).

English imperative clauses can also be formed with the auxiliary *let* preposed to the verb, followed by a subject in the objective case (Quirk et al. 1985: 829), as in (265).

(265) Let's go outside.

Following Huddleston and Pullum et al. (2002: 934-937), three subtypes of *let*-imperatives can be distinguished, as follows:

- a. 'first person inclusive *let*-imperatives', where the speaker proposes an action to be carried out together with the addressee, as in (266), which the addressee can accept or reject. According to Collins (2004: 300-301), this *let* has been bleached of its propositional content and serves merely as a marker of illocutionary meaning.

(266) Let's have a break.

- b. 'first person inclusive *let*-imperatives which are used as expository directives, as in (267), typically to guide the reader/hearer through an argument (cf. Huddleston and Pullum et al. 2002: 936 and Collins 2004: 309 ff). Collins states that these clauses offer a "less authoritarian tone than ordinary imperatives without *let*" (2004: 310), while Huddleston and Pullum et al. (2002: 936) indicate that in cases in which *us* is contracted to *'s*, the directive is less formal.

(267) Let me remind you again how much more different things were in Russia. (From Collins 2004: 310)

- c. ‘open *let*-imperatives’, as in (268), where *let* is commonly followed by a Noun Phrase with third person reference. These clauses are used to define a situation the speaker hopes for or thinks to be advisable. They can therefore be used in cases where the speaker refers to an audience rather than to a specific addressee, for example, in newspaper editorials. These uses of *let* are often paraphraseable by *should* or *may* and, as is the case in ‘first person inclusive *let*-imperatives, *let* serves as an illocutionary marker rather than to the definition of the referred future action.

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(268) Let that be a lesson to you.

Only subtypes (a) and (b) of *let*-imperatives have been taken into consideration in the present piece of research. Open *let*-imperatives have been disregarded here since they do not imply directive meaning; the speaker does not address any interlocutor to carry out an action. As a matter of fact, Huddleston and Pullum et al. consider them as “somewhat peripheral members of the speech act category of directives” (2002: 934). According to Aikhenvald (2010: 70), first person inclusive *let*-constructions are in complementary distribution with imperative clauses given that ordinary subjectless imperative clauses are understood to have a second person subject, whereas *let*-clauses are used in other contexts, where the subject is a third or even a first person.

As regards the semantics and pragmatics of imperative clauses, Schwager (2006: 241) maintains that the label ‘imperative’ is taken to denote one of the language form types at sentence level, namely, the one

whose tokens are prototypically used for requests or commands. As such, they are paralleled by declaratives (used for assertions), exclamatives (for exclamations) and interrogatives (for questions). Portner (2004: 237-238) states that the difference between commands and requests has to do with the pragmatic or sociolinguistic basis considered on the part of the speaker. Thus, while orders occur when the basis is social authority, requests occur when no social authority is invoked, and the basis is the speaker's or addressee's benefit. As will be seen later on in this chapter, orders and requests are not the only types of speech acts related with imperative clauses, although they are the most common ones and, by far, the most difficult to distinguish.

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### **6.3. Subordinate *if*-clauses with directive meaning**

As discussed in Section 5.3 (see example (202)) and also in section 2.3.1.4, on the alternative view of clauses of this type as complement clauses, prototypical *if*-subordinate clauses connected to a main clause may also issue commands. Examples (269) and (270) below illustrate cases where a conditional softens the effect that an imperative might have, giving the hearer the freedom to fulfill the order or not. In the first example, participant A encourages participant B to hang up his coat, immediately adding a softening *if you'd like to* in order to give the hearer the choice of doing it or not. In (270), participant A is giving a direction to participant B by means of an *if*-clause which clearly has no conditional meaning, since the presence of the shop is not dependent on the hearer's walking in that direction.

(269) A: Oh hello you found your way

A: Emma Smith

A: **Do hang your coat up if you'd like to** (DCPSE DI-A14 0007)

B: Mmm

(270) A: Well you know Chapel Street

B: Yeah up at Islington

A: Yeah

A: **If you go on a bit you come to a corner shop a big which used to be a big Lyon's with a** (DCPSE DI-B06 0008)

A: Oh you don't know oh

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Similarly, the *if*-clauses in (271) to (273) do not express a conditional relation with respect to the main clause, but rather some sort of request the hearer is expected to accept. In example (271), the main clause *I would be deeply appreciative* expresses nothing but the feeling of gratitude on the part of the speaker if the request were fulfilled. A similar explanation holds for (272) and (273), with the main clauses *we would be most grateful* and *I'd be happy to take the questions*, respectively.

(271) **if you could get them to me, I would be d- .. deeply appreciative** (SBC 019)

(272) B: so **if we could borrow these and have a look through them and uh then let you have them back** we would be most grateful <,> (DCPSE DL-B14 0098)



- (273) *If there are any questions about how we're going to proceed or anything I've said, I'd be happy to take the questions.* (CSPAЕ WH96A)

As Traugott, ter Meulen, Reilly and Ferguson recognize, “it is invariably found that some sentences with the formal markers of conditionality are semantically and pragmatically only marginally conditional or not conditional at all” (1986: 7). This is the case with both the prototypical subordinate *if*-clauses with directive meaning discussed in this section and insubordinated *if*-clauses, which do not convey conditional meaning, but rather serve other purposes, basically the expression of polite requests, offers and orders. In such uses, it has been shown that conditional clauses serve to soften the strong assertion an imperative would imply. This also applies to insubordinated constructions, given the fact that they, arguably, originate in clauses of the type of (271) to (273). As Brown and Levinson (1987: 65 ff) explain, orders, requests (i.e., the speaker’s expression of his desire for the hearer to act or not to act) and offers (i.e., the speaker’s expectation that the hearer commits himself to whether or not he wants the speaker to do something for him) are acts that threaten the addressee’s negative face, since they express the speaker’s intrusion into the hearer’s freedom of action. In this context, participants in a conversation will try to avoid these face-threatening acts or, at least, employ some strategy to mitigate the threat. Conditionals add to the strategy of acts done on record (i.e., where the communicative intention behind the action is clear to participants) by offering the possibility of redressive action, that is, an action that attempts to counteract the potential face damage of the addressee, by modifying or adding some element that indicates clearly that a face-threat is not intended. Acts done with redressive action convey

either positive or negative politeness, the latter consisting of acts intended to maintain the hearer's want of "territory and self-determination" (Brown and Levinson 1987: 70), and the speaker avoiding interference with the hearer's freedom of action. Face-threatening acts are therefore redressed with the indirectness that conditionals offer, since they provide the hearer with the possibility of choosing whether or not he/she wants to commit himself/herself to the act proposed by the speaker.

#### **6.4. Distribution of imperative clauses, subordinate *if*-clauses with directive meaning and insubordinated *if*-clauses in the corpora as regards illocutionary force**

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As the discussion in the previous sections suggests, imperative clauses, whether those introduced by *let* or other types of imperatives, certain subordinate *if*-clauses and insubordinated *if*-clauses share illocutionary force. This section aims at investigating whether their uses and frequencies are similar or if, on the contrary, each type of clause has specialized for certain communicative purposes. Table 12 provides the distribution of the four types of clauses in the corpora analyzed.

	Imperative clauses				Subordinate <i>if</i> -clauses with directive meaning		Insubordinated <i>if</i> -clauses	
	Imperatives other than <i>let</i> -clauses		<i>Let</i> -imperatives					
	Tokens	NF	Tokens	NF	Tokens	NF	Tokens	NF
<i>DCPSE</i>	55	6.2	253	28.6	17	1.9	52	5.9
<i>SBC</i>	74	29.6	105	42	1	0.4	14	5.6
<i>CSPAE</i>	13	0.65	230	11.5	11	0.55	78	3.9

Table 12: *Imperative clauses, if-clauses with directive meaning and insubordinated if-clauses in the DCPSE, SBC and CSPAE; raw figures and normalized frequencies per 100,000 words*

As derived from the table, *let*-clauses are the most frequent type of clause used in the three corpora for the expression of directive meaning. More interesting is the comparison between imperative clauses and insubordinated *if*-clauses. The data for informal American English represented in the *SBC* suggests that imperatives are far more common than insubordinated constructions while this is not the case for the other two sources of data. This is probably due to the type of interactions recorded in the *SBC* rather than to a difference between the two varieties of English considered in this dissertation. In many of the conversations included in the *SBC*, speakers are friends or relatives and therefore politeness does not seem to play a role in the selection of clause-type. In the British English corpus, imperatives and insubordinated *if*-clauses are almost equally frequent, whereas in formal American English as represented in the *CSPAE* the latter type clearly outnumbers the former. These results were not to be anticipated, since the imperative construction has been established in the language much longer than insubordinated *if*-clauses, which seem to be a more recent phenomenon.

Let us now consider the kind of illocutionary force that each type of clause encodes. For this purpose, I have analyzed the conversational contexts of all the relevant clauses retrieved from the corpora, imperatives, whether with or without *let*, *if*-conditionals with directive meaning, and insubordinated *if*-clauses, in order to assign them a particular illocutionary force, following the typology of speech acts in Huddleston and Pullum et al. (2002: 929-930, see also Quirk et al. 1985: 831-832, Davies 1986 and Downing and Locke 2006: 211). Of the various types of illocutionary acts identified by these scholars, the clauses at issue here occur in the corpus in five of them: orders, requests, offers, instructions or expository directives, and suggestions.<sup>9</sup> More specifically, I have classified as orders cases in which the hearer is required to comply with the action proposed; failure to comply is not allowed or is likely to provoke a rebuke. In the category of requests, I have included examples in which the option of not complying is allowed, but it is assumed that the hearer will carry out what is being asked. Since the boundary between orders and requests is not always clear, and the difference between ordering and asking something is scalar, for the correct identification of these two illocutionary forces I have ultimately relied on Lakoff's *Idealized Cognitive Model* (1987: Chapter 4), as revised by Pérez-Hernández and Ruiz de Mendoza (2002; see also Takahashi 2012). Pérez-Hernández and Ruiz de Mendoza (2002) comment on the difficulties in distinguishing orders and requests and propose a model in order to successfully establish such a distinction. They find weaknesses in the following scenario for requests previously proposed by Panther and Thornburg (1998: 759):

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<sup>9</sup> No examples of the remaining illocutionary acts identified by Huddleston and Pullum et al. (2002) and other relevant literature, i.e. permission and acceptance, were recorded in the data analyzed.

## **BEFORE**

The hearer (H) can do the action (A)

The speaker (S) wants H to do A

## **CORE**

S puts H an obligation (either less or more strong) to do A

RESULT: H is under an obligation to do A (H must/should do A)

## **AFTER**

H will do A

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This account suggests that each of the components of this scenario (that is, preconditions such as ability or willingness) may stand for an act of requesting through a metonymic operation. In Pérez-Hernández and Ruiz de Mendoza's (2002: 263 ff) view some other several semantic features need to be taken into account when characterizing indirect directives, namely, (i) the power relationship between the speakers, (ii) the degree of politeness of the illocutionary act, (iii) the cost/benefit of the action proposed and (iv) the degree of optionality conveyed by the illocutionary act. By considering such aspects, the communicative effects of this type of illocutions will be accountable in terms of politeness and obligation.

What Pérez-Hernández and Ruiz de Mendoza (2002:264) propose is that illocutionary scenarios need to be integrated into a more general type of organization structure, namely, propositional *Idealized Cognitive*

*Models. Idealized Cognitive Models (ICMs)* are complex structured systems of knowledge that help structure mental spaces. As Lakoff puts it, “a mental space is a medium for conceptualization and thought. Thus any fixed or ongoing state of affairs as we conceptualize it is represented by a mental space” (1987: 281). The role of *ICMs* is to provide the background knowledge that we need to recruit in order to structure mental spaces. In Pérez-Hernández and Ruiz de Mendoza’s (2002) proposal, each of the two types of directive, orders and requests, should take into account the following:

- a. **Cost/benefit:** an assessment of the cost and/or the benefit a particular action A involves for the speaker S and/or the hearer H.
- b. **Optionality:** an assessment of the degree of optionality conveyed by the speech act; that is, the degree to which the addressee’s freedom of choice is restricted.
- c. **Power:** an assessment of the power relationship that holds between the speakers.

The formulation of these particular *ICMs* would be as follows:

<i>ICM</i> of orders	<i>ICM</i> of requests
The action represents a cost to the hearer and a benefit to the speaker	The action represents a cost to the hearer and a benefit to the speaker
They show low optionality, that is, politeness is usually lacking	The level of optionality is high, since they show politeness
The speaker is usually more <i>powerful</i> than the hearer	

Table 13: *ICMs of orders and requests (based on Pérez-Hernández and Ruiz de Mendoza 2002: 264)*

As to the categorization of the other directive types found in the corpus, I have classified as offers (also called invitations) cases in which the hearer can choose whether or not to accept what is being proposed, the speaker having an initiating and enabling role, but the benefit of accepting what is being offered residing with the addressee. In the case of instructions or expository directives, compliance with the action is in the interest of the hearer, but it is needed in order to achieve a particular goal. Finally, I have classified as suggestions examples in which compliance is presented as being in the interest of the addressee and where the speaker proposes a course of action the hearer is free to comply with or not.

#### **6.4.1. British English vs. American English**

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Tables 14, 15 and 16 show the distribution in the corpora analyzed of imperatives whether with *let* or others, *if*-clauses with directive meaning and insubordinated *if*-clauses according to illocutionary force.

Type of clause		Type of illocutionary act									
		Order	Request	Offer	Instruction/ expository directive		Suggestion				
Imperatives	Imperatives other than <i>let</i> -clauses	15	53.6%	12	25.5%	6	35.3%	22	14.1%	-	-
	<i>Let</i> -imperatives	-	-	-	-	-	-	124	79.5%	129	100%
Subordinate <i>if</i> -clauses with directive meaning		-	-	12	25.5%	-	-	5	3.2%	-	-
Insubordinated <i>if</i> -clauses		13	46.4%	23	49%	11	64,7%	5	3.2%	-	-
Total		28	100%	47	100%	17	100%	156	100%	129	100%

Table 14: Distribution in the DCPSE of imperatives, *if*-clauses with directive meaning and insubordinated *if*-clauses according to illocutionary force



Type of clause	Type of illocutionary act						
	Order	Request		Offer	Instruction/ expository directive		Suggestion
Imperatives	Imperatives other than <i>let</i> -clauses	21	67.7%	1	25	47.2%	-
	<i>Let</i> -imperatives	-	-	-	28	52.8%	100%
Subordinate <i>if</i> -clauses with directive meaning	-	1	3.3%	-	-	-	-
Insubordinated <i>if</i> -clauses	-	9	29%	5	-	-	-
Total	27	31	100%	6	53	100%	77

Table 15: Distribution in the SBC of imperatives, *if*-clauses with directive meaning and insubordinated *if*-clauses according to illocutionary force

Case	Order	Request	Off
cases other than	7	5	1
atives	-	-	-
directive meaning	-	6	5
	17	47	9
	24	58	15

Table 16: *Distribution in the CSPAE of imperatives, if-clauses with directive meaning and insubordinated if-clauses according to illocutionary force*

Table 17 shows the distribution of illocutionary acts according to variety, British vs. American English. The data from the two American English corpora has been considered together. here

Type of clause		Type of illocutionary act										
		Order		Request		Offer		Instruction/ expository directive		Suggestion		
Imperatives	Br	Am	Br	Am	Br	Am	Br	Am	Br	Am		
	Imperatives other than <i>let</i> -clauses		53.6	66.7	25.5	29.2	35.3	9.5	14.1	30.5	-	-
	<i>Let</i> -imperatives		-	-	-	-	-	-	79.5	63.4	100	100
Subordinate <i>if</i> -clauses with directive meaning		-	-	25.5	7.9	23.8	3.2	-	-	-	-	
Insubordinated <i>if</i> -clauses		46.4	33.3	49	62.9	64.7	66.7	3.2	6.1	-	-	
Total		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	

Table 17: Distribution of imperatives, *if*-clauses with directive meaning and insubordinated *if*-clauses according to illocutionary force per variety (percentages)

The data in the table suggests the existence of similarities between both spoken British and American English as regards the type of structures chosen for the issuing of particular illocutionary acts. In the remainder of this chapter, each type of illocutionary force will be discussed and exemplified.

#### 6.4.1.1. Orders

As discussed in Section 6.4, in orders a sense of obligation, no matter its degree of strength, to carry out the action proposed is said to be involved on the part of the hearer. In both the British and American English data, imperative clauses are the preferred option for the expression of this illocutionary act but with slight differences: in the case of British English, the percentages are more balanced (53.6% vs. 46.4%) than in American English (66.7% vs. 33.3%); in the latter variety the stronger preference for imperative clauses is due to the high number of clauses of this type registered in one of the corpora, namely, the *SBC*, where orders are exclusively conveyed by this clause-type. As explained before (see Section 6.4), the fact that the participants in the conversations recorded in this corpus were familiar to one another may go a long way towards explaining the choice of imperatives.<sup>10</sup> The following examples illustrate the use of imperative and insubordinated *if*-clauses issuing orders. Taking into consideration the *ICMs* proposed by Pérez-Hernández and Ruiz de Mendoza (2002) explained in Section 6.4., I have only classified as orders those cases where the speaker could be identified as more powerful than the addressee and where the level of optionality was low. In (274) the

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<sup>10</sup> This issue will be further discussed in section 6.4.2 below.

power relationship between the speaker and the hearer is clear, since the speaker is superior in status to the addressee, the latter being an employee. Similarly, in (275), where the hearer has to fill in a form so that his personal details are registered correctly, some sense of obligation is also involved. In (276) the speaker issuing the order is the moderator, while in both (277) and (278) the person giving the orders is the one in charge of the meeting, the one who is more powerful in that particular situation.

(274) B: I thought the <unclear-word>were so small <unclear-word>  
<unclear-word><unclear-word>

B: no

B: so we'll have one last drink

B: ***Supply us some more drinks while we are about it*** (DCPSE DI B40-0058)

A: yeah

(275) A: OK <,> I presume you 've changed address since last year

B: Yes

A: In which case we'd better get you to fill in one of these forms <,>

A: ***If you put your new uhm address there no there and the old address and your name*** (DCPSE DI-A20 0280)

B: OK

A: Just name and address <,>

A: OK thanks very much <,>

(276) ***Say who you are*** (SBC 015)

(277) <SP>HORTON:</SP> Okay. Everyone participates. *Don't let Marsh hog the conversation.* (CSPAЕ COMM797)

(278) <SP>STRICKLAND: </SP> I think we can start even though Marsha isn't here. Maybe someone else might have a point to make about items. *So if you would gather around the table.* (CSPAЕ COMM8A97)

The use of insubordinated conditionals for the issuing of orders is also found in Spanish (see Section 3.4.1), where the so called *oraciones suspendidas* ('suspended sentences'), that is, conditionals missing their main clauses, are said to be used elliptically for, among other purposes, giving mitigated commands.

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#### 6.4.1.2. Requests

As for requests, the results are similar for both varieties, which show a clear preference for insubordinated *if*-clauses. Such a preference is particularly prominent in American English, where two thirds of the requests in the corpora are conveyed by insubordinated *if*-clauses. Also interesting is the fact that if we consider both subordinate and insubordinated *if*-clauses as a whole in both varieties, the figures are similar: 74.5% of requests in spoken British English and 71% in the case of American English are expressed by means of an *if*-clause. The use of *if*-clauses (both full conditional structures and insubordinated *if*-clauses) is likely related to issues of politeness, since they seem to imply an option with alternatives; the hearer is given the option of not complying with the action proposed, although it is assumed that the addressee will grant the speaker's request (cf. Huddleston and

Pullum et al. 2002: 930). Declerck and Reed (2001: 386) consider that conditional clauses with a covert constituent, what we are calling here insubordinated *if*-clauses, have the force of “weak manipulation” following Givón’s (1995: 122) terminology, that is, they express a very polite directive, most frequently a request. The following examples illustrate the use of imperatives (279)-(281), *if*-clauses (282)-(284) and insubordinated *if*-clauses (285)-(287) for the issuing of requests in the three corpora.

(279) A: oh hello <,> you found your way

A: Emma smith

B: yes thanks

B: yes

A: Mike Millican

A: ***do come in*** (DCPSE DL-A14 006)

A: ***Do hang up your coat if you’d like to*** <,> (DCPSE DL-A14 0007)

(280) ***Stay to your right folks, please, tour group coming out*** (SBC 040)

(281) <SP>STRICKLAND:</SP> ***Please stay there.*** Do you have any written documents that you would like to circulate? (CSPAЕ FACMT95)

(282) B: so ***if we could borrow these and have a look through them and uh then let you have them back*** we would be most grateful <,> (DCPSE DL-B14 0098)

A: hm hm hm well the Only thing that an uh is an I ‘m Anxious about is I do want them back

B: oh surely there would be no question about that

(283) *If you could get them to me, I would be d- .. d=eeply appreciative*  
(SBC 019)

(284) *And if you have any other information that we could use to incorporate in our thinking, I think that would be very good* because I as a teacher myself have often had parent-teacher conferences where the kids are interpreting my remarks to their parents. (CSPAE FACMT96)

(285) A: uhm what sort of time

B: Any time <,,>

B: I 'll fit in with you <,,>

A: *uhm uhm if you can make it about three* (DCPSE DL-C03 0445)

B: three <,> and where do I go to<,>

A: it 's l s uh do you know PanamErican College

(286) BEN: *<Okay folks, if you will please follow me now>*. (SBC 040)

(287) *If you could give us more of a preview of tomorrow's speech, more of a look ahead, a little bit of a bite of that?* (CSPAE FACMT96)

The use of insubordinated conditionals for the issuing of requests in both British and American English parallels the uses identified in Chapter 3 for insubordinated conditionals in other languages, such as Spanish, Italian and Dutch (see Sections 3.4.1, 3.4.2.1 and 3.4.3, respectively).



### 6.4.1.3. Offers

Like requests, offers are open to rejection; the addressee can choose whether or not to accept what is being proposed. This may explain the higher proportion of insubordinated *if*-clauses issuing offers in both varieties (BrE 64.7%; AmE 66.7%). If we consider the American data in isolation, *if*-clauses as a whole amount to 90% of the cases. Interestingly, in British English the use of imperatives for the issuing of offers is fairly widespread (35.3% of the total of offers in the *DCPSE*), in contrast to American English, where only 9.5% of the directives of this type are conveyed by means of imperative clauses. This may be accounted for the type of contexts in which offers are issued, as will be discussed in Section 6.4.2 below. The following examples illustrate the three types of clauses as expressing offers in both varieties. Suspended sentences in Spanish (Section 3.4.1.), free conditionals in Italian (see Section 3.4.2.1.) and independent conditionals in Dutch (see Section 3.4.3) are also found conveying this meaning; according to Lombardi Vallauri (2010), a free conditional better encodes the politeness that characterizes a speech act of offer, which explains the high frequency of independent conditionals encoding offers.

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(288) C: I'm sure it was much much <,> cos it sounded so like mush mush  
you know as in driving sleigh dogs across the frozen wastes <,<<,>  
<laugh>

B: *Darling have some cherries* (*DCPSE* DL-B22 0893)

D: *have a handful* (*DCPSE* BL-B22 0894)

A: wooh suhp

(289) Carolyn: *Have an apple* (*SBC* 002)

(290) Our organization stands ready to provide additional input and assistance. *Please feel free to contact us.* Thank you. (CSPAЕ COMM597)

(291) I actually have no other comments. *But if you would like to ask questions, I'm more than willing to answer them* (CSPAЕ WH96)

(292) C: we 'll have to discUss your finAncial situation in more dEtAil

B: yes

C: uhm <,> if you come Over to TUEsday *if you want to come up to my house and have a cOffee* (DCPSE DL-C04 0229)

B: uhm

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(293) Matthew: *If you'd like to see that.* (SBC 053)

JUDGE:... Okay.

(294) Or we are going to be discussing the first thing this morning our response to the calculator issue which yesterday, we decided we were making no moves from where we were, but rather strengthening our rationale.

<SP>FERRARA:</SP> Yes.

<SP>DOSSEY:</SP> *But if you have any other comments?* (CSPAЕ FACMT96)

<SP>FERRARA:</SP> Not anything substantive. I would just like to say I enjoyed and appreciated working with everybody here. I hope to continue to do that as much as is possible on the voluntary math test.

#### 6.4.1.4. Instructions and expository directives

Instructions and expository directives have been classified together although certain differences can be seen between the two categories. Beginning with the issuing of instructions, imperative clauses clearly predominate over insubordinated *if*-clauses in both varieties (14.1% vs. 3.2% in BrE and 30.5% vs. 6.1% in AmE). Interestingly, all the instructions from the British English corpus are issued in the same conversational exchange, where both types of clauses co-occur. This is given as (295). It is not surprising that the conversation begins with insubordinated *if*-clauses, given their more polite nature, and then the speaker switches to imperative clauses. When a new set of instructions begins, the speaker makes use of another insubordinated *if*-clause, switching afterwards again to imperatives.

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(295) A: Now before we start the engines up I would like you all to go to your machines <,> and we will wheel them around the course so that you get the feel of them <,,>

A: Right

A: We 're going to do this one at a time <,>

A: *If you'd like to go to your machines* (DCPSE DI-F22 0017)

A: *and Gareth if you'd like to lead* <,,> (DCPSE DI-F22 0018)

A: Right now *take the bike off its side stand and hold its weight on the handlebars* <,> (DCPSE DI-F22 0019)

A: *Keep the bike leaning towards you slightly not on your hip but towards you* (DCPSE DI-F22 0020)

A: *If you'd like to take a right-hand circle <,> quite tight <,> quite gently* (DCPSE DI-F22 0021)

A: Now *use the brake if necessary to stop it* <,> (DCPSE DI-F22 0022)

A: *Apply it very slowly* <,> (DCPSE DI-F22 0023)

Later in the conversation, the speaker changes the topic and again makes use of an insubordinated *if*-clause to express the first directive, then shifting to imperative clauses.

(296) A: *And if you go straight into a left hand circle keeping the bike leaning towards you all the time* <,> (DCPSE DI-F22 0031)

A: That's it

A: *Put it on full lock* <,> (DCPSE DI-F22 0033)

A: You 'll clear the bikes

A: That 's lovely

A: And back to its starting position <,>

A: *Apply the brake very smoothly and put it back on its side stand* (DCPSE DI-F22 0037)

A: That's the way

A: Lovely

The corpus yields another similar example in which an insubordinated *if*-clause is issued first to formulate an instruction, which is later reinforced by an imperative clause. This is (297).

(297) A: It 's on the next one as well <,,>

A: That makes you <,,>

A: **if you could keep it in** (DCPSE DI-B36 0234)

B: Yes

A: Yeah

B: **Keep in that <,> place** (DCPSE DI-B36 0237)

B: Yeah

B: Sort of

A: Yes

B: Plane <,,>

A: Flat

A: No

A: It's because you're not singing it in the same place <,,>

Regarding the data for American English, all instructions are issued by means of imperative clauses, all of them belonging to the SBC. As mentioned in Section 6.4, this may have to do with the nature of the relationship between the participants in the conversations included in the SBC. In the case of lessons and lectures recorded, instructions are of the type shown in (298) to (300), in which a coach is telling his/her pupils how to perform martial arts movements. Unlike in example (295) from the DCPSE, in which the instructor did not know his/her pupils, in this case the participants in the conversation are familiar with each other from previous lessons, so that the indirectness and politeness insubordinated *if*-clauses offer does not seem to be necessary here.

(298) ***Bend over*** (SBC 057)

(299) ***Put your hand against my hip*** (SBC 057)

(300) ***Hold me out*** (SBC 057)

Cases of conditional *if*-clauses connected to a matrix clause are also attested in British English expressing instructions of the type in (301), in which participant A is giving a direction to participant B by means of an *if*-clause which seems to have no conditional meaning. Note that the presence of the shop is not dependent on the hearer's walking in that direction.

(301) = (270) A: What was that <,> building on the corner <,> just past Chapel Street on the right where it used to be Lyon 's <,>

A: What was it called the <,>

A: Well it w it wasn't called Lyon's Corner House but it was

B: Chapel Street

A: Well you know Chapel Street

B: Yeah up at Islington

A: Yeah <,>

A: ***If you go on a bit you come to <,> a corner shop a big which used to be a big Lyon's <,> with a*** (DCPSE DI-B06 0008)

A: Oh you don't know oh

B: Well as I say I don't know it <,>

Considering now expository directives which are used to guide the hearer through an argument, *let*-clauses are by far the preferred option in both varieties. This was to be expected since expository directives are usually

said to correlate with *let*-imperative clauses (see, for instance, Collins 2004). However, cases of insubordinated *if*-clauses have also been found with this illocutionary force in American English. I illustrate the variation between the two types with examples (302) to (306). This use is similar to one of the functions recognized by D'Hertelfelt (2015) for Dutch independent conditionals, as discussed in Section 3.4.3 above, although she considers these cases as requests.

(302) *Let's now talk about the second area where Lord Scarman made recommendations the procedures for dealing with complaints against the police* (DCPSE DI-D13 0112)

(303) <SP>BURRILL: </SP> Okay. *Let's start in Chapter 1*. Remember, you're giving to Cathy language or typographical or just construction things. (CSPAЕ FACMT96)

(304) The student and their parents would be involved in that. *If we could turn to the comments*. Just real quickly because we are running out of time. (CSPAЕ FACMT96)

(305) Okay, *if we could step back for a minute*, and then we'll come back to your questions on any of these subjects. (CSPAЕ COMM797)

(306) SP>DOSSEY:</SP> Wayne.

<SP>MARTIN:</SP> Fran, *if we go back over this question for a minute*. (CSPAЕ FACMT96)

<SP>BERRY:</SP> Yes.

<SP>MARTIN:</SP> Because we're trying to look at tradeoffs between security and what would be best for students in terms of administering it without destroying the school's schedule.<sup>11</sup>

#### 6.4.1.5. Suggestions

The most frequent type of directive in the corpus is the use of a 'first person inclusive *let*-imperative' with the force of a suggestion for joint future action. In fact, this is the only type of clause employed in both British and American English, although imperative clauses can also be used with this illocutionary force (e.g., *Wait until the price is right*). According to Collins (2004: 304), *let*-clauses of this kind are only marginal members of the directive class since their illocutionary meaning results from the combination of the directive force of an imperative and the assertive force of a suggestion. In these "assertive directives" *let's* is used to mitigate the threatening nature of the act proposed. Examples (307), (308) and (309) illustrate this use of *let*-imperatives for the issuing of suggestions.

(307) So *let 's play Trivial Pursuit as well after or something* (DCPSE DI-B40 0124)

(308) *Well then let's talk about our vacation.* (SBC 052)

(309) But I would probably say, *let's look at time first because I think that has an impact then on what types of items that we actually put in the grid.* (CSPAЕ FACMT97)

<sup>11</sup> Note the use of a *because*-insubordinated clause here. As Traugott (2010: 104) explains, *because*-clauses without main clauses are already attested in seventeenth-century plays. In her view, it is likely that spoken English, being less formal than written English, has always allowed *because*-clauses as independent clauses and, as the "colloquialization" of writing increased, this use was reflected first in drama, then in the representation of speech in novels and, finally, in writing in general.



#### **6.4.2. Formal vs. informal registers**

Since issues of politeness seem to play a role in the selection of different types of clauses when expressing directive meaning, it seems worth looking into the different types of register in which each construction is more commonly used.

For this purpose, I have classified the type of interactions recorded in the three corpora analyzed as representing more formal or more informal registers. All the material contained in the CSPAE has been considered as formal because of the type of interactions recorded: faculty or board meetings and White House press conferences. Although on some occasions some of the participants seem to know each other, the mood of the conversations is definitely not a colloquial one. As for the SBC, although it was chosen to represent informal spoken American English (cf. Chapter 4), I have considered some of their conversations as belonging to a more formal register. These are the following: *SBC 008*, in which an attorney prepares some witnesses for a trial; *SBC 010*, a business conversation; *SBC 025*, a lecture at university; *SBC 039*, a training business meeting; *SBC 040*, a tour visit scripted with explanations from a presenter as the visit proceeds; and *SBC 053*, which records a conversation in court. In all these conversations participants did not know each other and therefore issues of politeness are more likely to apply. The remaining files of the SBC have been considered as representative of informal registers since all the participants involved were friends or relatives in everyday situations. Finally, the material in the DCPSE has been classified according to text-type, as shown in Table 3 in Chapter 4 above. Of the text-types distinguished in this corpus, I have considered the following as representing formal language: formal

face-to-face conversations, broadcast discussions, broadcast interviews, parliamentary language, legal-cross examination and prepared speech. The remaining text-types have been taken as belonging to the informal type: informal face-to-face conversations; telephone conversations; spontaneous commentary and assorted spontaneous.

Table 18 displays the frequencies of imperatives, subordinate *if*-clauses with directive meaning and insubordinated *if*-clauses according to register. *Let*-clauses have been left out of this comparison since they barely show variation with other clause types.

	Formal registers		Informal registers		Total	
Imperatives	56	39.4%	86	60.6%	142	100%
Subordinate <i>if</i> -clauses with directive meaning	19	65.5%	10	34.5%	29	100%
Insubordinated <i>if</i> -clauses	99	68.7%	45	31.3%	144	100%

Table 18: *Frequency of imperatives, subordinate if-clauses with directive meaning and insubordinated if-clauses according to register in the corpora*

As derived from the information in the table, as expected, imperative clauses are more common in informal registers. On the contrary, *if*-clauses as a whole, and insubordinated *if*-clauses in particular, are preferred in situations where the degree of formality is higher. In the case of insubordinated constructions, their frequency in formal contexts is more than double the percentage of use of the same clause type in informal situations. This finding is not at all surprising given that the presence of the conjunction *if* mitigates the imposing force of directives, as explained in Section 6.3 above.

Let us consider now if differences can be detected as regards the expression of particular illocutionary forces in formal and informal text-types. The information is presented in Table 19 below.

	Orders		Requests		Offers		Instructions/ expository directives	
	F	I	F	I	F	I	F	I
Imperatives	36.1	83.7	13.1	56.5	5.3	28	-	90.4
Subordinate <i>if</i> -clauses with directive meaning	-	-	16.3	8.7	47.4	4	-	-
Insubordinated <i>if</i> -clauses	63.9	16.3	70.6	34.8	47.4	68	100	9.6
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 19: *Distribution of clause types per illocutionary force according to register (percentages)*

The data in this table allows us to identify certain tendencies: on the one hand, orders are most frequently issued in formal contexts in the form of insubordinated *if*-clauses. On the contrary, informal contexts prefer imperative clauses for this directive force. As regards requests, *if*-clauses represent more than 85% of the cases attested in the formal register, insubordinated *if*-clauses amounting to almost three quarters of the cases. For the expression of requests in informal text-types, imperatives are again the favorite option, though their frequency does not differ much from that of *if*-clauses and insubordinated *if*-clauses taken together. In offers, *if*-clauses are the most frequent option in both varieties with

some differences: insubordinated *if*-clauses are the predominant option in informal situations, whereas in the case of formal contexts, both subordinate and insubordinated constructions are equally distributed, both types of clauses representing about 95% of the cases analyzed. Finally, when issuing instructions or expository directives, only insubordinated *if*-clauses have been attested in the formal register, whereas imperative clauses are about ten times more common than insubordinated ones in the informal register. As a general tendency, the data in Table 19 shows that insubordinated constructions are more frequently used in situations where a certain degree of formality is required, either because of the conversational setting or because of the relationship between the speakers involved in the exchange. Nevertheless, it is also worth noticing that in many informal settings clauses of this type are also widely used, especially in cases in which the speaker does not want to impose himself/herself on the hearer.

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The results of this comparison can help us establish a gradient of directive forms as regards their degree of strength. According to Aikhenvald (2010: 288 ff), imperative forms coexist with non-imperative constructions to issue directives and the latter can be either more or less strong than the former. She considers that in what she calls ‘desubordinated clauses’, our insubordinated *if*-clauses, ellipsis of the main clause results in a “tentative request and a mild directive” (2010: 288). The discussion in Section 5.4.1 of this dissertation has made it clear that we are not facing cases of ellipsis here; rather, the clauses under study are independent structures. However, Aikhenvald’s observation that *if*-clauses not connected to a main clause provide a tentativeness effect is related to the results of the pragmatic analysis of this chapter: it has been found that insubordinated *if*-clauses

are more frequently used in contexts where a higher degree of politeness is required and, among illocutionary acts, they are the preferred option to issue requests, although their use is not restricted to this type of speech act.

Aikhenvald maintains that a wide set of non-imperative forms can be understood as such depending on the context. A general statement such as *It is cold, and the window is open* can be interpreted as a general statement or as a way of ‘asking’ someone to close the window. For a proper interpretation of the latter meaning there needs to be a shared speech habits convention between speakers, necessary to infer the pragmatic force of an indirect utterance such as this one.

Aikhenvald (2010: 290) has proposed a continuum for the relationship between imperative clauses and declarative ones since, in her view, all the utterances in this continuum can be interpreted as directives with different degrees of strength, politeness and manipulative force. She acknowledges, however, that the “exact order on the continuum is arguable” (2010: 290). Aikhenvald’s continuum from imperative to declarative is given in Figure 6.

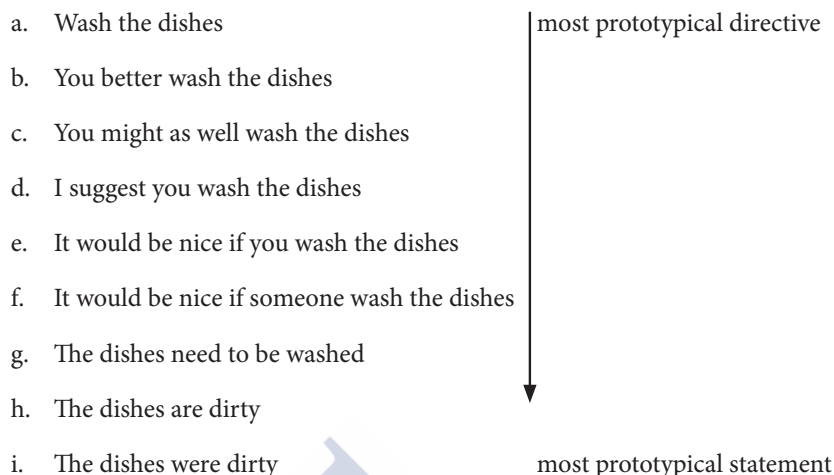
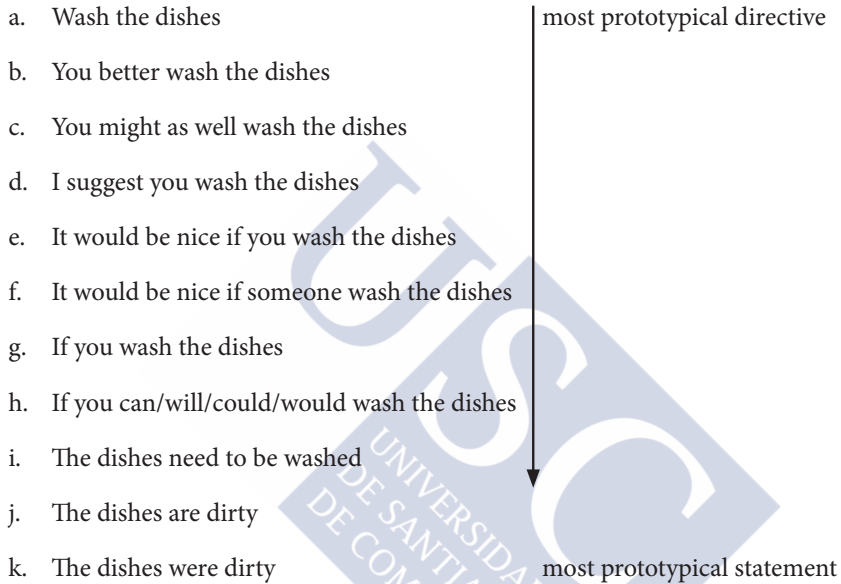


Figure 6: *From imperative to declarative* (taken from Aikhenvald 2010: 290)

The utterances present on this continuum go from a most prototypical directive, exemplified in (a) with an imperative clause, to a purely declarative one whose meaning is not that of a command (i). As the scale goes from imperative down to declarative, the speech acts become more indirect and, therefore, less imposing on the hearer. Towards the lower end of the scale, examples (g) and (h), we find cases of indirect statements whose meaning as orders or requests needs to be inferred, preventing thus the face of the addressee from a potential threatening act. At an intermediate point on the scale we find another clause type that has been discussed in the present chapter, namely, subordinate *if*-clauses connected to a consequent whose meaning is directive rather than conditional (e) and (f). Aikhenvald distinguishes between cases where a subject *you* is present (e) and cases where an impersonal *someone* is found (f), the latter reinforcing the idea of indirectness and politeness. If we were to add insubordinated *if*-clauses to this scale, I believe they would be placed between (f) and (g) since their form and uses have proved that they are more frequently used in cases

were politeness and non-imposive forms are seen as necessary. Cases with a verb in the present tense would be more direct and less polite than cases with a modal such as *will/can*; still more polite would be cases including *could* or *would* forms, as discussed in Section 5.4.3. The revised scale would look, then, as follows:

- 
- a. Wash the dishes
  - b. You better wash the dishes
  - c. You might as well wash the dishes
  - d. I suggest you wash the dishes
  - e. It would be nice if you wash the dishes
  - f. It would be nice if someone wash the dishes
  - g. If you wash the dishes
  - h. If you can/will/could/would wash the dishes
  - i. The dishes need to be washed
  - j. The dishes are dirty
  - k. The dishes were dirty

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Figure 7: Revised scale from imperative to declarative

Aikhenvald also provides a scale going from most prototypical directive forms (a) and (b) to most prototypical interrogative clauses (g) to (i) (see Figure 8 below). In the middle of this scale we find certain types of interrogative clauses, (d) to (f) whose meaning is that of a directive rather than that of a question. As seen in Section 5.4.4, insubordinated *if*-clauses are most frequently used as declarative clauses but cases can also be found in which insubordinated clauses take the form of a question. Therefore, it seems reasonable to include insubordinated constructions on a revised

version of the scale proposed by Aikhenvald, as shown in Figure 9, where I have also rearranged the position occupied by other utterances.

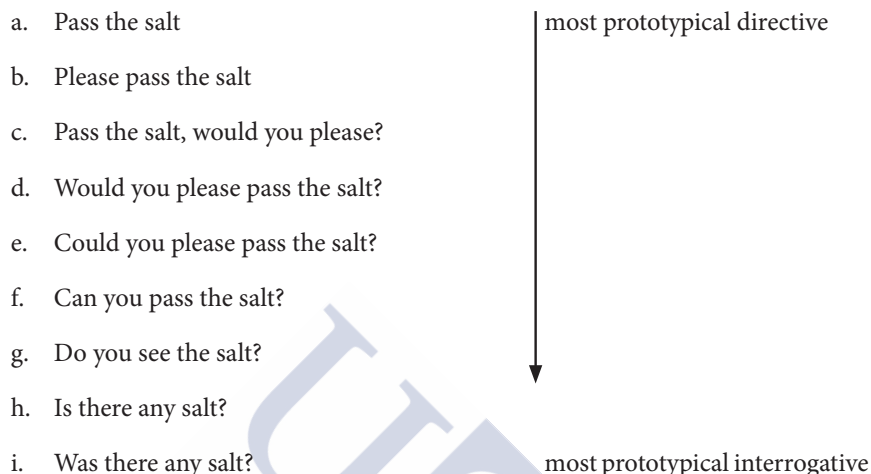
- 
- a. Pass the salt
  - b. Please pass the salt
  - c. Pass the salt, would you please?
  - d. Would you please pass the salt?
  - e. Could you please pass the salt?
  - f. Can you pass the salt?
  - g. Do you see the salt?
  - h. Is there any salt?
  - i. Was there any salt?
- most prototypical directive
- most prototypical interrogative

Figure 8: *From imperative to interrogative* (taken from Aikhenvald 2010: 289)

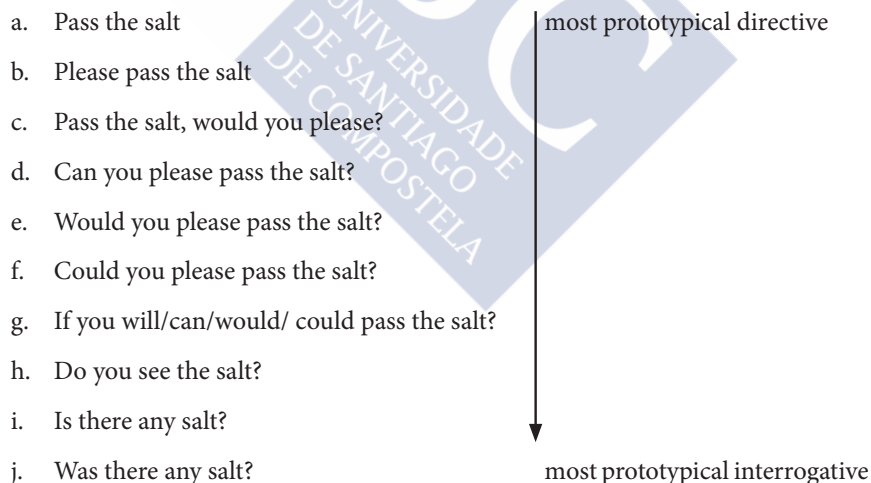
- 
- a. Pass the salt
  - b. Please pass the salt
  - c. Pass the salt, would you please?
  - d. Can you please pass the salt?
  - e. Would you please pass the salt?
  - f. Could you please pass the salt?
  - g. If you will/can/would/ could pass the salt?
  - h. Do you see the salt?
  - i. Is there any salt?
  - j. Was there any salt?
- most prototypical directive
- most prototypical interrogative

Figure 9: *Revised scale from imperative to interrogative*



At the extremes of the scale, Aikhenvald places imperative clauses, on the one hand, which are softened in the case of (b) and (c) by means of the insertion of *please* and the use of a modal verb phrase, and three interrogative clauses at the other end of the scale whose meaning as directives needs to be inferred by the addressee, that is, they are issued as indirect speech acts, (g) to (i). In the middle of the scale, we find questions featuring modals; in the original scale, Aikhenvald poses questions with *can* as being closer to the indirect interrogative clauses in (g) to (i) than to interrogatives with *could* and *would*. However, since modal verbs in the past form may have implications of politeness (see Section 5.4.3), I consider that interrogatives with *can* are more direct than those with *could* and *would* and so they need to be placed towards the interrogative end of the scale. As for insubordinated *if*-clauses issued as questions, I see them as even more indirect than questions with modal verbs, since they combine the politeness they imply with the possibility of rejecting what is being proposed encoded by the conjunction *if*.

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A comprehensive analysis of the uses and frequencies of directive insubordinated *if*-clauses should take account of all the other forms of expressing directive meaning included on these scales. This would not only complete the characterization of insubordinated *if*-clauses but would also provide a general picture of directive forms in English. This more ambitious project must however be left for future research.

### 6.5. Summary of the chapter

This chapter has explored the different pragmatic forces with which insubordinated *if*-clauses are used in English. Given that the majority of cases found in the corpora convey directive meaning, I have classified insubordinated *if*-clauses according to the particular types of speech acts within this broad category. In addition to this, I have compared the way in which these clauses are employed with other clauses typically associated with the use of the expression of directive meaning, that is, imperative clauses as well as cases of subordinate conditional clauses with no conditional meaning. The chapter has also explored the similarities and differences in use of these three types of constructions as regards the dichotomy British vs. American English and the register in which they are issued.

## 7. Summary and conclusions

This dissertation has been concerned with the variation between imperatives, conditionals and insubordinated *if*-clauses as potentially alternative ways for the expression of directive meaning in contemporary spoken British and American English as represented in three computerized corpora. Given the scarcity of earlier work on insubordinated *if*-clauses, special attention has been devoted to this clause type and to its grammatical and pragmatic characteristics in English.

Chapter 1 set the scene for the dissertation and established its aims, namely, (a) to examine the frequency and uses of insubordinated *if*-clauses in spoken British and American English; (b) to characterize these structures as independent clauses, taking as a point of reference Evans's (2007) stages of insubordination and Heine, Kaltenböck and Kuteva's (forthcoming) features for theticals; and (c) to provide a comparison of the uses of directive insubordinated *if*-clauses and other clauses that share the same illocutionary force.

Since insubordinated *if*-clauses seem to have evolved historically from full conditional clauses, Chapter 2 offered a characterization of these structures according to the reference grammars of English. Conditional clauses have been described as prototypical cases of subordinate constructions, typically showing a subordinating conjunction as a marker of subordination and being dependent on a main clause (see Section 2.2). In Section 2.3, conditional clauses have been classified into three major groups according to the type of conditional relationship they express, namely, direct condition, rhetorical condition and indirect condition. In

direct condition the event proposed in the main clause is dependent on that in the conditional clause. Two subcategories can be distinguished here, open and hypothetical; in open conditions the speaker does not specify whether the condition expressed in the clause has or has not been fulfilled, whereas in hypothetical conditionals the speaker thinks that the condition has not/is not/will be not performed. Rhetorical condition, on the other hand, is used to make strong assertions derived either from the conditional or from the matrix clause. Finally, indirect condition comprises cases of conditional clauses used as style disjuncts. In addition to these three major categories of conditionals, Section 2.3.1.4 discusses a particular type of *if*-clauses that, despite having traditionally been analyzed as conditionals, seems to fit better under the category of complement clauses. Other structures that can be used to express condition have also been presented in this chapter (see Section 2.4.1), as well as conditionals unconnected to a main clause as treated in English grammars (see Section 2.4.2). The final section of Chapter 2 has been devoted to the use of conditionals in different kinds of texts, both spoken and written. Interestingly, after considering the factors which determine the position of conditional clauses in the sentence and the different functions they perform depending on the position they occupy, Ford and Thompson (1986) and Ford (1993, 1997) conclude that *if*-clauses are frequently used to express deference and to show politeness. More specifically, conditional clauses are frequently used to convey disagreement on the part of the speaker to what has been previously said and also to express directive meaning; in both cases, *if*-clauses serve to soften a potential face-threatening act.

Chapter 3 has been devoted to the notion of insubordination. The chapter opens with a theoretical review of this phenomenon and proceeds

then to the discussion of certain types of insubordinated constructions in different languages. Evans's (2007) seminal work on insubordination (see Section 3.2) pays attention to (a) the stages in the process of insubordination, from prototypical subordinate clause to full independent construction, via ellipsis of the main clause and conventionalization of the type of elided material; (b) the formal realizations insubordination may have; and (c) the range of functions it may serve. Among the set of formal features identified by Evans (subordinate verb forms, subordinating conjunctions and complementizers, logophoric pronouns, subordinate word order), the one relevant for the analysis of insubordinated *if*-clauses in English is the presence of a subordinating conjunction in clause-initial position. As for the different functions of insubordination he proposes (indirection and interpersonal control, modal insubordination and signalling presupposed material), these *if*-structures seem to serve that of indirection and interpersonal control, since they are used to prevent face-threatening acts by selecting the form of an elided enabling predicate from the different forms this type of insubordination may take. Finally, the connection of insubordination to the processes of grammaticalization and reanalysis is also discussed in this chapter, concluding that insubordination may be seen as a process of degrammaticalization, inasmuch as it seems to proceed in the opposite direction of grammaticalization processes (main clause > subordinate clause).

The chapter then moves to the discussion of insubordination from a different perspective, that of Thetical Grammar (see Section 3.3). Here, insubordinated constructions are seen to have undergone a change from Sentence Grammar to Thetical Grammar. Insubordinated constructions are therefore considered to be theticals and fit the defining features of

250 this category, namely: (a) they are syntactically independent; (b) they are set off prosodically from the rest of the utterance; (c) their meaning is non-restrictive; (d) they tend to be positionally mobile; and (e) their internal structure is built on the principles of Sentence Grammar but can be elliptic. This shift from Sentence Grammar to Thetical Grammar is accomplished by means of cooptation, that is, the process whereby an element belonging to Sentence Grammar comes to be used as a thetical (see Sections 3.3.2 and 3.3.3). In Heine, Kaltenböck and Kuteva's (forthcoming) view, three different types of theticals or insubordinated clauses can be distinguished: first, instantaneous insubordinated clauses, that is, clauses that are spontaneously coopted from a full sentence and whose use may be restricted to just one time (see Section 3.3.4.1); second, constructional insubordinated clauses, that is, constructions that become conventionalized in a particular discourse situation leading thus to the evolution of a specific pragmatic function which is different from that of their non-coopted counterpart (see Section 3.3.4.2); and, finally, formulaic insubordinated clauses (see Section 3.3.4.3), which are invariant and are considered by these authors as a later development from the previous types.

Section 3.4 presents Lombardi Vallauri's hypothesis (2010) on why conditionals frequently develop into insubordinated clauses in different languages: the fact that they express a generic semantic relationship between two events seems to make them particularly versatile and prone to acquire more specific meanings of their own even when used with no accompanying main clause. The remainder of the chapter approaches insubordination from a cross-linguistic perspective, focusing on the discussion of insubordinated constructions in different languages. Section 3.4.1 explores insubordinated conditional clauses in Spanish which differ

in use from those analyzed for English in this dissertation: they are not used as polite directives, but rather as refutational clauses through which speakers make an objection to what has been previously said. Constructions similar to the English insubordinated *if*-clauses analyzed in this piece of research also exist in Spanish and are termed ‘oraciones suspendidas’ (‘suspended sentences’) with a missing main clause. However, they are not fully conventionalized and therefore both prosodic and contextual clues are necessary to interpret them correctly. In his study of refutational *si*-clauses in Spanish, Schwenter (1999) proposes the following series of tests (see Section 3.4.1.1) to clearly differentiate between independent *si*-clauses and conditional protases with a similar form (whether elliptical or not): (a) their behaviour with negative polarity items; (b) whether they can coordinate with a similar structure; (c) whether they can be embedded; and (d) the scope of sentential adverbs in these clauses. These tests seem to indicate that subordinate and insubordinated *si*-clauses in Spanish clearly behave differently.

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Besides their refutational use, insubordinated *si*-clauses in Spanish can also be used with causal meaning (see Section 3.4.1.2), the speaker stating a causal connection between a preceding conclusion and a following supporting piece of evidence for it. In cases where the insubordinated clause expresses causal meaning, the function of *si* is different from its conventional meaning, since it serves to make explicit the strength of the causal connection between two propositions.

Finally, insubordinated clauses introduced by *como* with conditional meaning have also been identified in Spanish (see Section 3.4.1.3). *Como*-conditionals are often used to issue threats and warnings, in cases in which the meaning of the consequent is understood as being extreme with

respect to that of the antecedent. In other words, a *como*-conditional is more threatening than a *si*-conditional, and when used in insubordinated form, the core of the warning is left implicit.

Section 3.4.2 turns to the discussion of insubordinated conditional clauses in Italian. Lombardi Vallauri (2010) identifies several functions for these clauses: (a) expressing the meaning ‘everything is fine’; (b) expressing a meaning along the lines of ‘it’s out of our hands’; (c) posing a generic question of the type ‘what is going to happen?’; (d) expressing an adversative conditional of the type ‘(but) it is not true!’; (e) issuing an offer or a request; and (f) expressing a desire (see Section 3.4.2.1). Sections 3.4.2.2 and 3.4.2.3 present the features that have led Lombardi Vallauri (2010) to consider that insubordinated conditionals in Italian are grammaticalized: (a) the construction is stabilized; (b) some free conditionals have become idioms; and (c) insubordinated conditionals have acquired a particular conventional pragmatic value.

Section 3.4.3 reports on D’Hertefelt’s (2015) typology of independent conditional clauses in Dutch and other Germanic languages. She distinguishes six semantic categories: (a) deontic, which includes the expression of wishes, requests, threats, offers and suggestions; (b) evaluative, which can express either remarkable, negative or absurd evaluation; (c) assertive, in cases where the independent conditional is used to assert the occurrence of a particular event or to identify a particular person; (d) argumentative, in situations in which the clause is used to justify the point of view of the speaker with respect to something previously stated in the discourse; (e) reasoning, that is, cases in which the independent conditional invites the addressee to follow a particular line of reasoning;



and finally, (f) post-modifying, in which what has been previously said is post-modified by means of an independent conditional.

From Spanish, Italian and Dutch, the last part of Chapter 3 turns to prior research on insubordination in English. Section 3.4 offers a brief account on insubordinated clauses: (a) *that*-clauses with exclamative uses of regret; (b) *as if*-clauses expressing a satiric reaction to a previous comment; (c) *because*-clauses; and (d) *if*-clauses. Ford and Thompson's (1986) and Ford's (1993, 1997) passing mentions to conditionals unconnected to a main clause in American English are presented in Section 3.5.1. In the corpus material used by these authors, such clauses are found to occur in contexts where the *if*-clause alone is seen as sufficient for the encoding of a polite offer and, therefore, it is not regarded as ungrammatical or incomplete.

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Section 3.5.2 is devoted to Stirling's (1999) analysis in Australian and Scottish English of what she denominates isolated *if*-clauses. In Stirling's corpus study, different types of *if*-clauses showing no accompanying main clause are distinguished: (a) incomplete utterances; (b) conditional clauses issued without a main clause that can be, nevertheless, recovered from the context; and (c) isolated *if*-clauses. In her research, two types of isolated *if*-clauses are identified, namely, the optative type, which is used to express a wish or regret on the part of the speaker, and the directive type. As for the latter type, Stirling carries out an experiment whose findings lead her to consider that these clauses are particularly frequent in situations in which speakers are unfamiliar to one another. Although Stirling has devoted some space to the analysis of insubordinated *if*-clauses in English, her study is too limited in scope, being restricted to Australian and Scottish English and to the description of the uses of insubordinated *if*-clauses only, without paying due attention to the potential variation of such clauses with

other clause types also used to convey directive meaning in English and to the grammatical status of insubordinated constructions. In this context, Chapter 3 closes with a section that justifies the need for further empirical research on insubordinated *if*-clauses in contemporary English. This is precisely the aim of the corpus study reported on in Chapters 5 and 6 of this dissertation.

Chapter 4 introduces the three corpora used to extract the data in this dissertation, namely, the *Diachronic Corpus of Present-Day Spoken English*, the *Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English* and the *Corpus of Spoken, Professional American-English*, as well as the procedure for the extraction and analysis of the examples.

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Chapter 5 discusses the results of the corpus analysis as regards the frequency of insubordinated *if*-clauses and their grammatical features. Section 5.2 reports on the types of *if*-clauses attested in the corpora while Section 5.3 identifies those that have not been taken into consideration for this study, namely, *what if*-clauses, *as if*-clauses, verbless *if*-clauses, fixed expressions of the type *If I may* and indirect questions introduced by *if*. The chapter then proceeds to the analysis of insubordinated *if*-clauses as represented in the three corpora, distributing them between the directive and optative types. The latter type has only been occasionally found in the British English data (see Section 5.4) and, therefore, the remainder of the chapter has focused only on clauses of the directive type.

Section 5.4.1 is devoted to a major issue for the analysis of insubordinated *if*-clauses, that is, their grammatical status. Several arguments in favor of viewing them as independent clauses are provided here. For my purposes, I have followed Evans's (2007) theory of insubordination, which was

discussed at length in Chapter 3 of the dissertation. Insubordinated *if*-clauses have been tested as regards ellipsis, which, as seen in Section 3.2, was crucial for the development of insubordinated clauses according to Evans. The test has shown that insubordinated *if*-clauses in English do not fulfill any of the criteria proposed by Quirk et al. (1985) for elliptical constructions and, therefore, it has been concluded that they cannot be considered the elliptical versions of conditional clauses. Rather, the test seems to indicate that the clauses under study have reached the final stage of the process of insubordination as proposed by Evans.

Insubordinated *if*-clauses in English have also been considered in this section from the perspective of Simone's work (2006), which Lombardi Vallauri has also tested for Italian *se*-constructions (see Section 3.4.2.2). In both English and Italian, insubordinated conditionals can be said to be independent structures since they fulfill the following properties: (a) they are fully available to speakers when they process language; (b) they have a constructional meaning; and (c) they convey a specific pragmatic force.

Moreover, I have also considered the notion of cooptation which is seen as a key concept in Thetical Grammar for the development of insubordinated clauses. It has been made clear in this dissertation that insubordinated clauses fulfill the features outlined for theticals in Section 3.3, and constitute what Heine, Kaltenböck and Kuteva (forthcoming) call constructional insubordinated clauses. These clauses need, therefore, to be seen as autonomous clauses.

Further evidence in favor of taking insubordinated *if*-clauses as independent clauses rather than as elliptical clauses is found in the occurrence in the corpora of examples in which insubordinated

constructions themselves govern subordinate clauses. Insubordinated *if*-clauses in English also coordinate among them and, more importantly, with clauses which are clearly independent in status, like imperative and interrogative clauses.

The section closes with the application to English insubordinated clauses of Schwenter's tests for Spanish *si*-clauses, reported on in Section 3.4.1.1. In the case of English, and contrary to Spanish, insubordinated *if*-clauses behave similarly to their subordinate counterparts.

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Section 5.4.2 discusses the type of subjects found in directive insubordinated *if*-clauses in the three corpora. As in Stirling's data, given their directive nature, a large majority of cases contain a second person pronoun. However, my corpus data show a more varied range of subject types than that attested in Australian English: whereas in Stirling's study only the pronouns *you* and *I* were present, the corpora analyzed in this dissertation for British and American English yielded cases of *I*, *you*, *it*, *anybody*, *anyone*, *someone*, *we* and *they*.

Section 5.4.3 focuses on the analysis of the tense and modality of the verb phrase in directive insubordinated *if*-clauses. Stirling's results showed that the present tense of the main verb or the modal *can* were the forms more commonly found in Australian English, and that instances with a modal verb in the past tense were only occasionally attested. In British and American English, on the contrary, most examples show a modal verb, especially one in the past tense, which seems to emphasize the hypotheticality of the speech act.

The final section of this chapter (5.4.4) is concerned with the punctuation of insubordinated *if*-clauses in the corpora examined, both in

written texts and in the samples representing transcriptions of spoken data. If we rely on the punctuation marks, on most occasions insubordinated *if*-clauses are issued as declarative clauses, although cases in which they are issued as interrogative clauses have also been found. Interestingly, when issued as interrogatives, insubordinated *if*-clauses do not show any of the formal features of interrogative constructions in English, such as *do* support or subject-verb inversion.

Chapter 6 is concerned with the analysis of the variation between directive insubordinated *if*-clauses and other types of clauses that can be used with the same pragmatic meaning in English. The first part of the chapter introduces the two types of clauses considered for the comparison. Section 6.2 discusses imperative clauses, which are the most common type of constructions associated in English with this pragmatic use. Two different types of imperative clauses have been identified: first, those consisting of the verb in the base form and an optional pronoun in the subjective case preceding the verb; and, second, those introduced by the auxiliary *let* preposed to the verb, followed by a pronoun in the objective case. Three subtypes were identified within the latter type: (a) first person inclusive *let*-imperatives; (b) first person inclusive *let*-imperatives used as expository directives; and (c) open *let*-imperatives. Type (c) was disregarded in the pragmatic analysis carried out in the chapter, since it does not convey directive meaning. In Section 6.3 a particular type of prototypical subordinate *if*-clause has been considered, namely, cases in which the *if*-clause does not express conditional meaning, but is used to mitigate the imposing force of the imperative present in the main clause or to express some type of directive meaning, the main clause expressing the speaker's desire that the directive was fulfilled.

Section 6.4 presents the distribution of the three types of clauses under consideration as regards their illocutionary force in the corpora analyzed. *Let*-clauses have been found to be the most frequent type of clause used in the corpus material for the expression of directive meaning, although, as will be commented later on, the illocutionary forces they are put to are quite restricted. Considering imperatives and insubordinated *if*-clauses, the results from the three corpora differ: in the *Diachronic Corpus of Present-Day Spoken English* imperatives and insubordinated *if*-clauses are almost equally frequent; the *Santa Barbara Corpus* shows a clear predominance of imperatives over insubordinated *if*-clauses, probably due to the type of linguistic data represented in this corpus; and in the *Corpus of Spoken, Professional American-English* insubordinated *if*-clauses clearly outnumber imperatives. The section then proceeds to the characterization of the different subtypes of directive speech acts found in the corpus data, namely, orders, requests, offers, instructions or expository directives and suggestions.

Section 6.4.1 offers the distribution of the clauses under investigation according to their specific illocutionary force, first in each of the corpora analyzed and then according to variety (British vs. American English). Beginning with orders, imperative clauses are clearly preferred in both varieties, although in British English the percentages for imperatives and insubordinated *if*-clauses are rather similar. As for requests, both varieties prefer insubordinated *if*-clauses, the tendency being more prominent in American English. In the case of British English, subordinate *if*-clauses are also commonly found with this meaning. For the issuing of offers, in turn, the corpora yield a high proportion of insubordinated *if*-clauses in both varieties, although the use of imperatives is also widespread in

British English, in contrast to American English. Moreover, instructions are predominantly expressed by means of imperative clauses in both varieties, although insubordinated *if*-clauses and *if*-clauses connected to a main clause are also found with this illocutionary force in British English. Considering expository directives, *let*-clauses are by far the preferred option in both varieties, though, unexpectedly, some cases of insubordinated *if*-clauses are attested with this illocutionary force in American English. Finally, suggestions are exclusively issued by means of *let*-clauses in both varieties.

Section 6.4.2 presents the analysis of the variation between the three types of clauses under investigation and their illocutionary force as regards register, whether formal or informal. As expected, imperatives are more commonly found in informal registers, whereas both subordinate *if*-clauses and insubordinated *if*-clauses are preferred in contexts showing a higher degree of formality. Taking into consideration the particular illocutionary forces of these clause types in both formal and informal contexts, the tendencies identified in the corpus data are the following: (a) formal contexts prefer insubordinated *if*-clauses to issue orders, whereas imperative clauses are the most frequent type of clause with this meaning in informal contexts; (b) both subordinate and insubordinated *if*-clauses represent a vast majority of the requests attested in the formal register, the latter type representing almost three quarters of the total; in informal situations, on the other hand, imperatives predominate, although not dramatically, over both types of *if*-clauses; (c) although offers are most frequently issued in both registers by *if*-clauses, in informal text-types insubordinated *if*-clauses predominate, whereas in formal contexts subordinate and insubordinated *if*-clauses are rather balanced; (d) finally, only insubordinated *if*-clauses

have been attested in formal contexts to express instructions or expository directives, whereas in informal situations imperative clauses are clearly the predominant option. The results offered in this section support the overall conclusion that insubordinated *if*-clauses are more frequently selected in contexts that require a certain degree of formality, though they are also widely used in non-formal situations.

Chapter 6 closes with the discussion of a gradient of directive forms in English as regards their imposing force. The continua proposed by Aikhenvald (2010) for the relationship between imperative clauses and declarative clauses, on the one hand, and for the relationship between imperative clauses and interrogative ones, on the other, have been revised in order to include insubordinated *if*-clauses in the picture. In both gradients, such clauses have been classified towards the end of the scales, which represent the most indirect and, therefore, the most polite options. Nevertheless, a comprehensive analysis of the uses and frequencies of all the types of clauses present in Aikhenvald's gradients will be necessary in order to compare them to the data presented in this chapter and thus provide a more comprehensive view of directive forms in English.



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## 9. Appendices

### 9.1. Appendix I: Directive insubordinated *if*-clauses in the DCPSE

A: But it 's worth getting a prospectus maybe popping in or ringing up one of those centres since suppose you want to <,> take teaching training in London <,,> A: Check it out A: and uh <i>if you if you could show them there's enough in what you've studied within your course that would relate to literature and maths</i> and and whatever's taught you might just squeak in A: But I suspect primary might be more likely A: But then you 'd have to think would I like to work with that age range A: You might well you might say yes that's such a you know the the the five six till ten eleven sort of age and or not <,>	
Reference	DCPSE DI-A06 0187
Illocutionary force	Request

A: And the information for all the courses that we've got again is here <,> uh on the ground floor A: <i>So if you if you will go downstairs</i> and then you could look through these two postgraduate guides A: Uhm and then I'll show you where the others are A: probably you won't want to go down and look at that today	
Reference	DCPSE DI-A08 0135
Illocutionary force	Request

B: Then she said oh you must stop doing that  
B: You know you always seem quite normal <,>  
B: And then Meryl came in  
A: ***If you would want some help***  
B: She rang up the other to ask if I needed to see somebody and I said no  
B: I said that I'd wait and see if you could sort anything out and if that didn't work then <unclear-words>

Reference	DCPSE DI-A13 0154
Illocutionary force	Offer

B: Uhm <,> central role 's being the breadwinner having the responsibility financial <,> uhm <,> classical role <,>  
B: Uhm <,> myself as a father <,> a potential father  
A: Uhm  
A: Leave that  
A: We 're coming back  
A: *Uhm <,> perhaps if you could tell me a little bit about your own father <,>*  
B: Gah aren't you being vague  
B: I mean do you want some <laugh>

Reference	DCPSE DI-A15 0042
Illocutionary force	Request

A: We 're coming back	
A: Uhm <,,> perhaps if you could tell me a little bit about your own father <,,>	
B: Gah aren't you being vague	
B: I mean do you want some <laugh>	
A: <i>Uhm well uh if you could just remind me for example what age he was when what age you were when he left and</i>	
A: can't remember	
B: I was uh I was uh I was six when he left <,,> and uhm <,,>	
Reference	DCPSE DI-A15 0045
Illocutionary force	Request

B: I had a secret gun <unclear-word>	
B: Keeping it in my drawer and <unclear-word> about it	
B: uhm <,> typical day	
B: I don't know <unclear-word>	
A: <unclear-word>	
A: Mm	
A: Mm	
A: Ok	
A: Let me make it a bit easier	
A: <i>If you would look and these cards and sort them into which you feel describe the state of your life as a child and which don't</i>	
A: Ok	
A: So we would end up with two piles of cards	
B: Well	
Reference	DCPSE DI-A15 0185
Illocutionary force	Request

A: It 's caused by two germs that live together <,> and scratch each other 's back <,> A: They 're called symbiotic <,> relationship A: They both produce sort of chemistry with the other 's need <,> so they live together <,> A: They only thrive in dingy <,> stagnant areas where the oxygen levels are fairly low <,> A: <i>Now if you take that mirror</i> <,> the teeth aren't particularly clean and the <,> interstitial food impaction <,> A: They 're areas of deprived oxygen <,> and we can begin to see if I blow that back you can just see <,> these ulcerations starting in between there	
Reference	DCPSE DI-A18 0173
Illocutionary force	Order

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A: and we also have a double speed filter <,> so we have the dose exposure each uh time A: It manages to produce quite a fast emulsion <unclear-words> so it makes sense to use it <,> A: In fact we've managed to drop it down two stops on the exposure machine <,> so we get good results <,> A: <i>If you look at the machine over there</i> <,,> The higher dials the small one the one near the hand switch <,> there you can see that the <unclear-word> is down is lowest <unclear-word> on to the right B: There's one more notch to go down uh so it's well down the range for exposure B: It's on two	
Reference	DCPSE DI-A19 0033
Illocutionary force	Request



<p>A: I 'm inclined to put a sedative in it and reduce the cusp &lt;,&gt; and leave the crown preparation for uhm when you 're going away &lt;,,&gt;</p> <p>A: <i>If you do me uh &lt;,&gt; a little bit of uh arthurnina or zical &lt;,&gt; first</i></p> <p>A: Just a tiny spot &lt;,&gt;</p> <p>A: and then I 'll fill it up with &lt;,&gt; tipax silver &lt;,,&gt;</p> <p>A: and then I 'll reduce the cusp after that &lt;,,&gt;</p>	
Reference	DCPSE DI-A19 0212
Illocutionary force	Request

<p>A: You haven't had a a swab sent off to the lab</p> <p>B: No</p> <p>A: We 'd better do that &lt;,&gt; to just to check what it is</p> <p>A: and then I can give you an oral dose of something &lt;,&gt; and uhm &lt;,&gt; we 'll see if that does the trick &lt;,&gt;</p> <p>A: So we 'll send off a vaginal swab &lt;,,&gt; A: What 's the date</p> <p>A: It 's the fifth &lt;,,&gt;</p> <p>A: <i>If you'll just come next door</i></p> <p>B: OK</p>	
Reference	DCPSE DI-A20 0159
Illocutionary force	Order

A: OK <,> I presume you 've changed address since last year	
B: Yes	
A: In which case we 'd better get you to fill in one of these forms <,,>	
A: <i>If you put your new uhm address there no there and the old address and your name</i> <,,>	
B: OK	
A: Just name and address <,,>	
A: OK thanks very much <,,>	
A: Here 's your prescription	
B: OK <,,>	
Reference	DCPSE DI-A20 0280
Illocutionary force	Order

278

D: I had a broken elbow in my teens but my wrist was very painful <,>	
D: It 's great actually	
A: Mhm	
D: <i>If you want to take it</i>	
D: I don't know if it fits you <,>	
D: Don't know if it fits me all that well now <,>	
D: That 's one thing <,>	
D: That 's quite extreme	
Reference	DCPSE DI-B1 0195
Illocutionary force	Offer

<p>A: Could 've cleared that square yard on down that right-hand border in the sun put the seed boxes on the ground and the uh window glass over it &lt;,,&gt;</p> <p>B: No</p> <p>B: You can't blame her for that really can you</p> <p>C: <b><i>If you gave it to her Dad</i></b></p> <p>B: No</p> <p>A: Well these damn plants have shot up in price so much over the last year or two</p>	
Reference	DCPSE DI-B03 0018
Illocutionary force	Request

<p>D: This is going to be a question of who you know not what you know</p> <p>B: &lt;unclear-words&gt; &lt;,,&gt; C: That 's right</p> <p>B: <b><i>So if you can work on that one</i></b></p> <p>B:&lt;unclear-words&gt; from her it's the end of information technology if you change things</p> <p>C: I knew I know the phone number of the chap uhm</p> <p>B: &lt;unclear-words&gt;</p> <p>B: Yeah</p>	
Reference	DCPSE DI-B22 0017
Illocutionary force	Order

C: I think it is yeah  
C: Yeah <,> we can ask them anyway  
A: Yeah <,>  
C: *But if you want to come up and see and see it sometime there*  
A: You and Nick you and Nick  
A: And I think you know probably come up when <,> when Andrew 's there perhaps  
or  
B: Uhm well I 'll I 'll be up there from December mid-December

Reference	DCPSE DI-B24 0043
Illocutionary force	Offer

280

C: Well that's what I mean  
C: I can do the whole lot in very small writing <,>  
A: Oh well I'll show you how it's supposed to be <,>  
C: Well that would help if you want it done by the end of term  
A: I would like it on Wednesday if possible  
C: Mm  
A: Please  
C: *Well if you give me it tomorrow*  
C: I can only do an hour though  
A: That would be excellent

Reference	DCPSE DI-B30 0181
Illocutionary force	Order

<p>A: I have not</p> <p>A: Oh dear</p> <p>A: Yes &lt;laugh&gt; &lt;,,&gt;</p> <p>B: I love that one</p> <p>A: Laura there are other people in the house that would like to receive phone calls</p> <p>A: <i>if you could just bear with us and leave the phone free for five minutes</i> &lt;,&gt; A: I wear that</p> <p>B: Do you</p> <p>A: But it doesn't have that effect &lt;,&gt;</p> <p>A: I mean under my armpits</p> <p>B: Devastating effect though obviously</p>	
Reference	DCPSE DI-B33 0235
Illocutionary force	Order

<p>C: have you got this album</p> <p>B: yeah</p> <p>C: I'd really love to tape it from you if you didn't mind</p> <p>B: yeah</p> <p>C: <i>If you give me a tape</i></p> <p>B: I've got a tape to tape</p> <p>C: Oh great that'd be</p>	
Reference	DCPSE DI-B34 0235
Illocutionary force	Request

A: <,> so look	
A: The arrangements tomorrow will be <,>	
A: <b><i>If we meet at seven o'clock at Covent Garden tube station outside</i></b>	
B: Yeah	
A: Ok	
A: we've got to get to uhm	
B: I'm leaving my guitar at <unclear-word>	
Reference	DGPSE DI-B35 003
Illocutionary force	Order

282

A: It 's on the next one as well <,,>	
A: That makes you <,,>	
A: <i>You see if you could keep it in</i>	
B:Yes	
B: Yeah	
B: Keep in that <,> place	
B: Yeah	
B: Sort of	
A: Yes	
B: Plane <,,>	
Reference	DGPSE DI-B36 0234
Illocutionary force	Instruction

<p>A: &lt;unclear-word&gt; go and put some ice cream on it &lt;,&gt; while you 're doing nothing &lt;,&gt; &lt;unclear-words&gt;</p> <p>A: What 's happened to Ashley</p> <p>B: Where 's he gone</p> <p>C: Probably gone to the loo again&lt;,&gt; &lt;unintelligible&gt;</p> <p>A: uh Peter I think you would &lt;unclear-word&gt;</p> <p>A: <b>if anyone would like some ice-cream</b> &lt;unclear-words&gt;</p> <p>B: yes please yes &lt;,&gt;</p> <p>A: Robert Robert doesn't want any yet</p>	
Reference	DCPSE DI-B58 285
Illocutionary force	Offer

<p>A: Do you have to request it?</p> <p>A: Cos I could just go in there and pick up twenty</p> <p>B: oh no oh you've got to go and request it</p> <p>B: Yes</p> <p>B: But I could even try going in there uhm get a few off them and then saying uhm look I'm a part of a student group centre</p> <p>A: <b>If you would do that</b></p> <p>B: And I'll see what I can do</p> <p>A: Yes please</p>	
Reference	DCPSE DI-B62 0252
Illocutionary force	Request

A: You know you 've got the colum they 're comp	
A: First table principal axis inertia per cent cumulative per cent and a histogram <,,>	
A: <i>So if you just draw this out</i> <,,>	
A: All right	
C: Yes <,,>	
A: Simple	
A: And then on the second table you 've got quality <,,> mass <,> inertia	
D: <unclear-words>	
B: Yes	
Reference	DCPSE DI-B87 0199
Illocutionary force	Request

284

A: let's have a look at the date	
A: it tells you why	
B: Yeah	
B: <i>If you just open that top one top one</i>	
A: Oh right	
A: Twenty-fourth	
B: How're you going to delete that	
A: You're going to clear	
Reference	DCPSE DI-B60 0149
Illocutionary force	Order



<p>A: Jo can you manage</p> <p>A: Or can you not see that</p> <p>I: I can't</p> <p>A: OK</p> <p>A: Uhm can you draw a tree from the blackboard so Jo can see at the same time</p> <p>A: <i>If you draw it on yeah on a bit of paper</i> &lt;,&gt; if you 've got a spare piece of paper &lt;,&gt;</p> <p>F: On here</p> <p>F: Yes uh uh</p> <p>F: Yeah</p>	
Reference	DCPSE DI-B72 0094
Illocutionary force	Request

<p>F: Yeah</p> <p>F: I 've got this</p> <p>A: Right &lt;,&gt;</p> <p>A: <i>If you want a large black pencil</i> &lt;,&gt;</p> <p>A: that 's a marker pencil which you have there &lt;,&gt;</p> <p>A: OK</p> <p>A: So now we 've got two trees &lt;,,&gt; one of which has got a prepositional phrase underneath the noun phrase</p> <p>A: And the other 's got a noun phrase underneath a prepositional phrase &lt;,,&gt;</p>	
Reference	DCPSE DI-B72 0100
Illocutionary force	Offer

A: Uhm <,> uh Giles is about to burn himself  
B: I see <laugh> being a  
B: being a great chef <,>  
A: <laugh>  
A: Yes uhm <,> well <,> *if you can hold on just half a minute* while I put these potatoes out  
B: D' you d' you  
B: OK yeah <,>  
A: Yes right I 'll hand you over to Giles for a second

Reference	DCPSE DI-C05 0174
Illocutionary force	Request

286

C: It was then that uh I fell in love with music like Hamilton Harty and a bit of Stanford  
C: and the Arn the Arnold Bax Saga became something quite uh excellent  
A: Well that 's a day we certainly want to come back to a bit later  
A: *But if we could just for a moment concentrate on the latter years of the nineteenth century*  
A: How true was this terrible saying about the land without music  
A: Particularly the Germans came out with it so I hear  
B: I don't know how they got the idea

Reference	DCPSE DI-D12 0025
Illocutionary force	Request

A: Is there anything else that we can measure in this near infrared region	
A: <b><i>If we go through some very simple biochemistry</i></b> because as I 'm a physicist I 've got no standing on this	
A: When we take in foodstuffs through <unclear-word> carbohydrates and so on <,>	
A: a series of biochemical reactions take place during the normal production of energy from these substrates <,> and their combination with oxygen to release energy	
Reference	DCPSE DI-F21 0018
Illocutionary force	Request

A: Now before we start the engines up I would like you all to go to your machines <,> and we will wheel them around the course so that you get the feel of them <,>	
A: Right	
A: We 're going to do this one at a time <,>	
A: <b><i>If you'd like to go to your machines</i></b>	
A: and Gareth if you'd like to lead <,>	
A: Right now take the bike off its side stand and hold its weight on the handlebars <,>	
A: Keep the bike leaning towards you slightly not on your hip but towards you	
A: If you'd like to take a right-hand circle <,> quite tight <,> quite gently	
A: Now use the brake if necessary to stop it <,>	
A: Apply it very slowly <,>	
Reference	DCPSE DI-F22 0017
Illocutionary force	Instruction

A: Now before we start the engines up I would like you all to go to your machines <,> and we will wheel them around the course so that you get the feel of them <,,> A: Right A: We 're going to do this one at a time <,> A: If you'd like to go to your machines A: <i>and Gareth if you'd like to lead</i> <,,> A: Right now take the bike off its side stand and hold its weight on the handlebars <,> A: Keep the bike leaning towards you slightly not on your hip but towards you A: If you'd like to take a right-hand circle <,> quite tight <,> quite gently A: Now use the brake if necessary to stop it <,> A: Apply it very slowly <,>	
Reference	DCPSE DI-F22 0018
Illocutionary force	Instruction

288

A: Now before we start the engines up I would like you all to go to your machines <,> and we will wheel them around the course so that you get the feel of them <,,> A: Right A: We 're going to do this one at a time <,> A: If you'd like to go to your machines A: and Gareth if you'd like to lead <,,> A: Right now take the bike off its side stand and hold its weight on the handlebars A: Keep the bike leaning towards you slightly not on your hip but towards you A: <i>If you'd like to take a right-hand circle &lt;,&gt; quite tight &lt;,&gt; quite gently</i> A: Now use the brake if necessary to stop it <,> A: Apply it very slowly <,>	
Reference	DCPSE DI-F22 0021
Illocutionary force	Instruction

A: Wheel it round	
A: That's lovely	
A: <i>And if you go straight into a left hand circle keeping the bike leaning towards you all the time</i> <,>	
A: That's it	
A: Put it on full lock <,>	
A: You 'll clear the bikes	
A: That 's lovely	
A: And back to its starting position <,>	
Reference	DCPSE DI-F22 0031
Illocutionary force	Instruction

A: Mr Carter your full names please	
A: <i>If you would seat</i> <,>	
A: You may with My Lord's permission <,>	
B: As long as you keep your voice up <,>	
C: I'll stand I think thank you	
A: Yes	
Reference	DCPSE DI-H02 0002
Illocutionary force	Order

A: I'm holding up your time to see me  
C: well not just at the moment I'm afraid <,> <unclear-word> yes  
B: no no because we've got a whole list of interviewees but <,> you see our point<,>  
A: yes I see what you can see as your point <,> thank you  
B: *and uh if you would uh uh write to us and ask us for some help*  
C: uhm  
A: all right <,> thank you  
C: could we have your <,> essay back please

Reference	DCPSE DL-A01 0318
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Illocutionary force	Order
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290

A: what time is your <,> boat train or whatever it  
B: plane <,>  
A: plane it is  
B: yeah yeah  
A: ah  
B: because <unclear-syllable> <,> yes I've got to be at London Airport at fourish  
A: oh <,>  
B: going over to Dillons to buy some books <,>  
A: uhm <,> *if you would just put this back in the <unclear-syllables> <,> survey*  
B: Yes  
A: oh thank you very much <,>  
A: you'd be so kind

Reference	DCPSE DL-A02 0283
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Illocutionary force	Order
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<p>A: now may we have a word on this</p> <p>?: hm hm &lt;,&gt;</p> <p>?: hm</p> <p>?: hm</p> <p>B: w uh w uh</p> <p>A: <i>Jake if you want to say something immediately</i></p> <p>B: uh yes &lt;,&gt; uh I can &lt;,&gt; foresEE a prOblem here uh I in our department</p> <p>B: I think it's a good idEA and wONderful if we could Always be sure of a rooom &lt;,&gt; and the right room</p>	
Reference	DCPSE DL-A04 0235
Illocutionary force	Offer

<p>B: I mean you could yes &lt;,&gt; when all you want rEAlly is a large room</p> <p>A: yes yes a large room</p> <p>B: because the attEndance Isn't all that huge</p> <p>A: no &lt;,&gt; no &lt;,&gt; would you like to take some lunch &lt;,&gt; young PAULine</p> <p>B: hm &lt;,&gt; that would be vEry nice please &lt;,&gt;</p> <p>A: uhm &lt;,&gt; yes &lt;,&gt; well then &lt;,&gt; we will take some &lt;,&gt;</p> <p>A: yeah <i>if you wish to wash hands et cEtera &lt;,&gt; alOng the cOrridor on the extreme rIght- hand right-hand side</i></p> <p>B: uhm &lt;,&gt;I don't thank you</p>	
Reference	DCPSE DL-A07 0513
Illocutionary force	Offer

B: I'm sure <,> because you know I've seen the portrait in lectures on Velasquez <unclear-word> illustrate A: what is it of <,> A: who is it B: Pope Innocent the Fourth <,,> a seventeenth century pope <,> of some ilk or other <,,> <,,> B: <unclear-words> I don't know Leslie's views B: and I said to him you know one of the things that'd B: <i>If we you know more or less agree together as to when we stop lecturing this term</i> <,> cos A: if we could all what <,> B: agree as to when we stop <,> lecturing I said because in previous year <,> uhm you know	
Reference	DCPSE DL-B04 0348
Illocutionary force	Order

292

C: oh this is fame lads fame B: I know uhm C: well you're your future is assured A: fame and fortune C: <i>if you ever want a job</i> <,,> you know I mean B: yes it's like a recOrding stUdio isn't it <,> C: uh beer for you Terry I should I should imagine	
Reference	DCPSE DL-B07 0365
Illocutionary force	Offer



<p>B: do you want to have lunch with us in college or will you be &lt;,&gt; being lunched&lt;,&gt;  A: oh I shOuldn't think &lt;,&gt; I shall be being lunched actually  A: will you be at your college at lunchtime?  B: I will be in my college at lunchtime lunching in the canteen and <i>if you would join us</i> &lt;,&gt;  A: well I'd like to come along  A: I would like to do that please</p>	
Reference	DCPSE DL-B10 0577
Illocutionary force	Offer

<p>A: I cOuldn't have bought more than one ticket for COvent GArden because they go at six flfty a pop  B: &lt;laugh&gt; &lt;,,&gt;  C: &lt;,,&gt; &lt;laugh&gt;  B: God I know &lt;,&gt;  A: I can't sit up in the gods now cos I wOUldn't see a thing &lt;,,&gt;  B: well <i>if you can really very handsomely lend me your</i> &lt;,,&gt; <i>car on Wednesday</i> that 's me for Wednesday really because I shall go out to Stadlowe and get back a bit late to really go to anything &lt;,&gt;  A: hm &lt;,&gt; hm &lt;,,&gt;  B: on the whole I spend</p>	
Reference	DCPSE DL-B10 0619
Illocutionary force	Request

C: what they had was a surgeon <,,> talking to <,,> the younger members of the staff as they went round the ward and talking to the patients A: I don't know B: I say listen B: hey listen to this A: and all my qualms would be <unclear-syllable> so to speak if I was <,> turned down B: <i>now if you would only get that on to tape</i> <,,> because that would be dispartes of two different sorts D: what B: Jock listen <unclear-syllable> <unclear-syllable> <,,> uh B: yes well exactly	
Reference	DCPSE DL-B17 0071
Illocutionary force	Order

294

A: but it did work incrEdibly <unclear-word> I should think D: yeah it has its points<,> because if you try and just deliver the rules you know B: oh it's <,> pOintless and Useless rEally B: <i>but if you could sort of deliver the s the appropriate examples</i> B: hm B: people do <,> sit around inferring rules like anything A: yeah	
Reference	DCPSE DL-B23 1066
Illocutionary force	Request

<p>B: yeah it will be advisable to do it sooner rather than later because uhm it does get rather difficult as uh as the the the last few weeks</p> <p>B: come on</p> <p>B: so I'll have a word with her and then uhm &lt;,&gt;I'll drop you a line or give you a tinkle &lt;,&gt;</p> <p>B: <i>now if I want to get in touch with you for business purposes</i></p> <p>C: Wednesday's mornings I'm likely to be in</p> <p>C: yeah befOre eEven</p>	
Reference	DCPSE DL-C01 0442
Illocutionary force	Request

<p>A: it is th it is the thing with the dome</p> <p>B: oh &lt;,&gt; I see &lt;,&gt;</p> <p>A: and &lt;,&gt; that 's on Gower Street</p> <p>B: yes</p> <p>A: <i>well if I meet you at the gates of that by the dome &lt;,&gt; at half past twelve tomorrow</i></p> <p>B: yes yes yes &lt;,&gt;</p> <p>A: we can &lt;,&gt; we can go to Simmonds</p> <p>B: yeah</p> <p>A: I 'll bring your b your birthday present</p> <p>B: oh thanks very much</p>	
Reference	DCPSE DL-C01 0985
Illocutionary force	Offer

A: so you can stop it rAther than	
B: yes <,>	
A: all right so uhm <,> Anyway just think abOUt this Offer or I 'll <,> I 'll write to you and <,> keep itthere in case you decIde <,> you know because things aren't all that good at the mOment	
B: yeah <,> but <,> <i>if it would be pOssible to get them to go up</i> <,> <laugh>	
A: uhm I 'll try but I don't think they <,> they can	
B: I think it 's all on a mOrtgage and things	
A: ji <,> yes uh uk	
B: and all the rest of it <,> but uhm <,> Anyway <,> I 'll have to put it fORward to them	
Reference	DCPSE DL-C03 0227
Illocutionary force	Request

296

A: uhm <,> how about the fifth of FEbruary	
B: fifth of FEbruary 's fine <,>	
A: uhm what sort of time	
B: Any time <,>	
B: I 'll fit in with you <,>	
A: <i>uhm uhm if you can make it about three</i>	
B: three <,> and where do I go to<,>	
A: it 's l s uh do you know PanamErican College	
B: yes <,>	
Reference	DCPSE DL-C03 0445
Illocutionary force	Request

<p>C: Our addrEss is nUmber one three Firsdean Lane</p> <p>C: thIrteen Firsdean Lane</p> <p>B: thIrteen Firsdean Lane right</p> <p>C: and if you can get uh i uh</p> <p>B: <i>and if you can get here dUring dAylight hours</i> because of course then the ones that they're just finishing off they hAven't got Any elEctrics on &lt;several unclear-syllables&gt;</p> <p>C: right &lt;,&gt; yes of course &lt;,&gt; yup</p> <p>B: But &lt;,&gt; I'll let you see their &lt;,&gt; the uhm&lt;,&gt; the uh&lt;,&gt; one uh one that is almost finished</p>	
Reference	DCPSE DL-C03 0710
Illocutionary force	Request

<p>C: that would be all right</p> <p>B: uhm</p> <p>C: that would be all right</p> <p>B: well I think that would suit me OK</p> <p>C: yes &lt;,&gt; <i>well if you could come to our Office here</i> becAUse the flats are just</p> <p>C: have you had the partIculars of these</p> <p>B: &lt;,&gt; uhm yes I have &lt;,&gt; uhm</p> <p>C: you 've had the High Street partIculars</p> <p>B: yes &lt;,&gt; yes I got them from a friend who 's in Also in the physics depArTment here at the CalifOrnia COLlege &lt;,&gt;</p>	
Reference	DCPSE DL-C03 0696
Illocutionary force	Request

C: we 'll have to discUss your finAncial situation in more dEtAIL	
B: yes	
C: uhm <,> if you come Over to TUEsday <i>if you want to come up to my house and have a cOffee</i>	
B: uhm	
C: and or a <,> shErry and have a nAtter abOUt it I 'll be vERy wlling to do that with you that 's After six <,>	
B: that would be vERy nice that 's ch tomOrrow then	
C: uhm	
B: is it <,,> uh <,,> yeah	
D: I had a broken elbow in my teens but my wrist was very painful <,>	
D: It 's great actually	
Reference	DCPSE DL-C04 0229
Illocutionary force	Offer

298

C: what time do you have in mind	
B: well I would have thought between half past two and three	
C: that would be fine	
B: O K so <,> shall we make a definite time	
B: what suits you best	
B three	
C: uhm <,> <i>well if you could make it the two thirty</i>	
B: or	
C: that's the	
C: nearer two thirty all right well we uh as near two thirty as pOssible	
Reference	DCPSE DL-C04 0624
Illocutionary force	Request

## 9.2. Appendix II: Directive insubordinated *if*-clauses in the SBC

JENNIFER: ... I wanna just [look at my cards] here.	
DAN: [(Hx)=]	
JENNIFER:... Please,(Hx).. Oh X, but I got a new one.	
MAC: ((BEEP))	
JENNIFER: ... <WH Got a new one, alright WH>. ... (SIGH) <i>Now, <b>if I can just get to the next move</b></i>	
... (KISS)	
DAN: ... Thank you very much.	
JENNIFER: ... For what.	
DAN: I just took over Iceland.	
JENNIFER: .. (TSK) Oh=, fuck... (H) Right while I was kissing you, you= traitor....	
<WH Oh my God, oh my God WH>.	
Reference	SBC009
Illocutionary force	Request

299

FOSTER: So Erasmus laid the the- --laid the egg, which Luther hatched.... (TSK) And um,.. when you come then,.. to= (Hx),uh, however this debate... This freedom of the will. (H) Um,... I think uh, let me read you a .. page from Brendler... Because it sets the sa- stage very nicely. This is in the Luther book some of you are reading, (H) and um,... if you,(H) this evening when you go home, <i><b>if you wanna meditate it on more. (Hx) on- on it more....</b></i> (TSK) (H) It's on page three eleven... (H) But, let me just read you the-, cause this gives us the setting very nicely, and then .. we can .. uh,.. (H) <READ Erasmus entitled his anti-Luther pamphlet,... diatribe .. concerning free will.	
Reference	SBC014
Illocutionary force	Offer

<p>KAREN: Is that a program you're reading?</p> <p>SCOTT:... Hm?... Hm-mm.</p> <p>KAREN:... &lt;X Guess it'[s a%-] X&gt; --</p> <p>SCOTT: [It w]as just a list of uh,... places that offer emails for- .. service, [and different things].</p> <p>KAREN: [Oh= well that's good].... Oh=,.. <i>you know maybe if we could turn the spider plant around.</i></p> <p>SCOTT: ... Which one.</p> <p>KAREN:... The one that just looks kinda decrepit.</p> <p>SCOTT:... That one.</p> <p>KAREN:... Yeah.</p> <p>SCOTT:... Maybe we could --I think it,... would probably do better,if it got its babies trimmed off.</p>	
Reference	SBC017
Illocutionary force	Request

<p>... So don't multiply that .. that one by three. &lt;@ That would be what,</p> <p>(H) a hundred and eighty-six .. &lt;X or something X&gt;</p> <p>(H) @&gt;.Are there any other questions? No? <i>If anyone's interested in seeing what Perry looked like</i>, when he had his fourteen-foot tail. (H) um, when you come into the visitor center, I don't know if- if .. anybody noticed this, (H) there's a TV monitor right after you –</p>	
Reference	SBC024
Illocutionary force	Offer



<p>... You know, a pin, you know, if we did a pin, it's probably, it would probably be even ... a hundred more. but, so it's, (H) it's, That's about the -... at this point the,... the least expensive alternative, that probably will work,..for her.... (H) Um,.. So, <b><i>If you want to let him know and then,.. have him call me back,..</i></b> [if you],</p> <p>KRISTEN:[~Lindsey]?</p> <p>MARCIA: If you wanna go ahead and do it.... (TSK) Okay?</p> <p>KRISTEN: You wanna put this kitty castration [down]?</p> <p>LINDSEY: [Sure].</p>	
Reference	SBC028
Illocutionary force	Offer

<p>... You know, a pin, you know, if we did a pin, it's probably, it would probably be even ... a hundred more. but, so it's, (H) it's,</p> <p>That's about the -... at this point the,... the least expensive alternative,that probably will work,..for her.... (H) Um,.. So,If you want to let him know and then,.. have him call me back,.. [if you],</p> <p>KRISTEN:[~Lindsey]?</p> <p>MARCIA: <b><i>If you wanna go ahead and do it.</i></b></p> <p>... (TSK) Okay?</p> <p>KRISTEN: You wanna put this kitty castration [down]?</p> <p>LINDSEY: [Sure].</p> <p>KRISTEN: XXX</p> <p>MARCIA: Alright.... (H) And if she --you know,if we did it, she could probably go home tomorrow.</p>	
Reference	SBC028
Illocutionary force	Offer

SETH: ... (H) if you're thinking about doing it in the future, you might wanna at least put the coil in. It only .. costs about three-hundred fifty dollars for the coil.

LARRY: Oh... Alright.

SETH:... It's the it's the out[door air conditioning <X that X>] --

LARRY: [Well,.. write that in] there, anyway in the .. in the quote.

SETH: (TSK) And now that's the .. the dining room you wanna add?

LARRY: *Yeah. If you --if you go over and have a look at the dining room*

SETH: You got a lotta glass in that room it looks like.

LARRY: yeah,.. and % we're gonna be making changes to the ... to the house too, so we're .. keeping that in mind. But if you notice, there are no registers in here.

Reference	SBC031
Illocutionary force	Request

302

REED: .. And this one's just .. a hai=r different. I mean it -- But it hurts.

DARREN:... A bit.

REED: .. Uh, a little bit.

DARREN:... It [hurt a lot at first].

REED: [But it's just a] hair,

(H) and uh,.. so, *if you could just let that the way it is ...* you know, which I think it's gonna do, cause you don't even complain much of this over here.

(H) You know, when you're doing things, you're thinking more about this back one, and that's the posterior ... ex-band, if you want to put it .. like that, or posterior cruciate we call it.

Reference	SBC035
Illocutionary force	Request

<p>(H) They now had from he=re,          (H) to here where they could build a dam.          (H) They pumped the water out of this area,          (H) and excavated down another hundred and thirty-five feet to bedrock.          (H) <i>Okay folks, if you will please, take a look at this picture taken during construction.</i>          (H) Looks like a series of boxes or blocks, stacked one on top of the other,          (H) and those are wooden concrete fo=rms.</p>	
Reference	SBC040
Illocutionary force	Request

<p>&lt;F Okay folks, there's a tour group coming in, stay to your right please, stay to your right F&gt;.          ENV: ((AMBIENT_CROWD_NOISE))          BEN: &lt;F Stay to your right folks, tour group coming out F&gt;.          ENV: ((CROWD_AND_MACHINE_NOISE))          BEN: Okay, <i>if you would wait for me on the blue couches on the balcony please.</i>          Anybody needs the elevator it's available.</p>	
Reference	SBC040
Illocutionary force	Request

<p>BEN:.. (H) That (H) rotor in that part of the shaft weighs five hundred and eighty tons.          AUD: (WHISTLE)          &gt;ENV: ((AMBIENT_NOISE))          BEN: &lt;FF Okay folks, <i>if you will please, follow me now FF</i>&gt;.          &gt;ENV: ((CROWD_NOISE_AND_FOOTSTEPS))          X: .. Hey [X],          BEN: [H=ow]= you doing?</p>	
Reference	SBC040
Illocutionary force	Request

304

<p>JUDGE: [%I don- I don't] think it's relevant that he rolled up his window and drove off [2X2].          MITCHELL: [2We2]ll, I know... But... that- --that was the end of our thing, I tried to contact him everything, ... finally I uh .. contacted my attorney,... I'd like to present this letter to you here.          JUDGE:... Okay. <i>If I may look at that</i>. And,.. [have you shown] that to uh Mister ~Collins?          MITCHELL: [Yes please]. Yes. He has --he has ... received ... a copy of that letter.</p>	
Reference	SBC053
Illocutionary force	Request

<p>MATTHEW: [Well you have] --You have,  X:... XXX  MATTHEW:...you have that --... I have a breakdown here, of what we paid  ~Mitchell's men.  JUDGE: [XXXXXX]  MATTHEW: <i>[if you'd like to see that]</i>.  JUDGE:... Okay. I mean, do -- yeah, y- you got a total of uh, seven point six five  percent employer contributions on the,  MATTHEW: Mmm</p>	
Reference	SBC053
Illocutionary force	Offer

<p>PERROT: Miss Wood asked me to .. inform everyone, that her hearing was rather ...  difficult, at the moment,  (H) and so, %uh, I will have to speak very loud, and clearly, so so- she can [hear what  I say].  WOOD: [Yes, I'm very hard] ... of hearing.... Age. There's no getting around it,  MANY: (LAUGHTER)[=][2=2]=[3=3]  WOOD: [so], [2Mister Perrot will take questions2].  PERROT: [3So, <i>if you will ask3</i>] <i>your questions clearly</i>, and please don't make them  too long, s- -- because I might forget, ... the= beginning, by the [time I reach the end]  MANY: (LAUGHTER)[=][2=2]=[3=3]</p>	
Reference	SBC055
Illocutionary force	Request

### 9.3. Appendix III: Directive insubordinated *if*-clauses in the CSPAE

<p>&lt;SP&gt;SENIOR OFFICIAL:&lt;/SP&gt; [...]And I would also say that Mexico, though it certainly has very great challenges ahead, has met a lot of challenges and is becoming once again the very substantial trading partner with the United States that it has been and has the potential for ever more being in the future. And I would welcome their rejoicing in this with us.</p> <p>&lt;SP&gt;SUMMERS:&lt;/SP&gt; <i>If I could just add to that.</i> I think the fact that our exports to Mexico are up 11 percent from pre-crisis levels despite all the problems makes very clear the enormous stake the United States has in a growing global economy, in emerging markets emerging, and speaks to the importance to us of continuing to maintain the kind of posture of international leadership that we have in the past.</p>	
Reference	CSPAE WH94
Illocutionary force	Offer

306

<p>SP&gt;SENIOR OFFICIAL:&lt;/SP&gt; There was a brief kind of - after last night, I think in that setting, which was basically two of them -- plus two on our side, two on their side, I think there was a greater ability to be candid, so there really was not a need, I think, to repeat that conversation today. There was some brief reference to it by the President. <i>And if I can have a chance to answer Mr. Hunt's second question.</i></p> <p>&lt;SP&gt;VOICE:&lt;/SP&gt; Thank you, which was, sir -</p> <p>&lt;SP&gt;VOICE:&lt;/SP&gt; What names -</p> <p>&lt;SP&gt;SENIOR OFFICIAL:&lt;/SP&gt; I'm not going to talk about specific names, but specific cases were raised.</p>	
Reference	CSPAE WH94
Illocutionary force	Request

<SP>BERGER: </SP> <i>If I can just add one other point, Barry, to Strobe's answer, which I agree with fully.</i> By extension of that logic, we would not be heading to Madrid to begin the process of NATO enlargement.	
Reference	CSPAE WH95
Illocutionary force	Request

<SP> MYERS: <SP> The second point I'd like to make is, in this discussion today, as we've made clear all week as we've gotten toward this trip, we're not going to talk about specific locations and we're not going to talk about specific sequences and times for this trip for security and safety reasons. And that's something we're going to adhere to during this briefing as well. <i>So if you would defer your questions on that until we get much closer to the actual arrival time.</i> Without further ado, Sandy Berger.	
<SP>BERGER: </SP> Thank you, David. Let me speak very briefly at the outset about the President's trip to the Balkans over the weekend.	
Reference	CSPAE WH95
Illocutionary force	Order

And since Cuba does not have regularized international financial relations, it would not be affected by this agreement. <i>If I could just make one other observation on something that Jim touched on.</i> I remarked that in a sense this represented the financial end of the Cold War. That's really true in two senses today.	
Reference	CSPAE WH95
Illocutionary force	Request

<SP>VOICE: </SP> Was Gergen there?

<SP>MYERS: </SP> I believe he was, but I didn't see him. I was just told he was there, and I haven't asked him.

<SP>VOICE: </SP> *Dee Dee, if I could ask a Chicago question.* Mayor Daley of Chicago had a press conference today and was asked about empowerment zones, and he went into a number of subjects. And he said -- if I can quote and get your comment on it.

Reference	CSPA E WH95
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Illocutionary force	Request
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<SP>VOICE: </SP> Dee Dee, *if I could follow Ann's question and ask precisely what she asked you.* Bill Gray said refugees aren't the issue, Cedras and crew are the issue. He stood here and very firmly attempted to turn the attention away from the refugees and onto the military regime

Reference	CSPA E WH95
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Illocutionary force	Request
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But I think in this case, the President believed it was most important to get the word out as quickly as possible to those Cubans who were thinking about taking to the sea.

<SP>VOICE: </SP> *If I could just follow up* -- but this really wasn't much of a surprise that there might be some trouble with Cuban immigrants except to the administration.

Reference	CSPA E WH95
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Illocutionary force	Request
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<p>&lt;SP&gt;MCCURRY: &lt;/SP&gt; I think that the President has working relationships with all responsible for law enforcement in this government. And that's one of the reasons why we've made some important progress in cutting the rates of crime in this country and why we continue to address the challenges to security that Americans face both domestically and abroad.</p> <p>&lt;SP&gt;VOICE: &lt;/SP&gt; <i>If I can just follow up and finish that off</i> -- the answer to the second question -- do we take that to mean the President's personal endorsement of his FBI Director?</p>	
Reference	CSPAE WH96A
Illocutionary force	Request

<p>&lt;SP&gt;MCCURRY: &lt;/SP&gt; Well, I don't know the answer to that, David. If I knew the answer to that, we would have completed the work that the State Department will try to do to get answers.</p> <p>&lt;SP&gt;VOICE: &lt;/SP&gt; <i>If I could follow</i>. Forgive me if this was asked, but if it is found out that somebody lied and he wasn't entitled, would he be unburied?</p>	
Reference	CSPAE WH96A
Illocutionary force	Request

<p>&lt;SP&gt;MCCURRY: &lt;/SP&gt; It has been very rare when a minor crime is committed in the United States that diplomatic immunity has stood in the way of bringing those responsible to justice. The President and our government believes that's proper and we have good consultations underway with the government of Georgia to ensure that that central premise is adhered to.</p> <p>&lt;SP&gt;VOICE: &lt;/SP&gt; <i>If I could try one last time</i>. I mean, I think you're reading correctly between the lines, but can you say explicitly we would like them to waive diplomatic immunity?</p>	
Reference	CSPAE WH96A
Illocutionary force	Request

<SP>VOICE: </SP> Do you have more details on the trip –  
<SP>MCCURRY: </SP> We have not put out any further details on that.  
<SP>VOICE: </SP> Mike, *if I could stick with Latin America for just a second*. At what stage is the interagency review of the arms export policy to Latin America?

Reference	CSPAЕ WH96A
Illocutionary force	Request

<SP>MCCURRY: <SP> And as to the exact cost and how that would be implemented, we'll go back to the people who were here for sometime and see if we can get an answer.  
<SP>VOICE: </SP> But *if I could ask one more thing*. I'm not looking for exact costs. It seems a matter of common sense that some of these notifications or requirements are not a simple matter of copying someone in. I mean, you've got to find the victim.

Reference	CSPAЕ WH96A
Illocutionary force	Request

<SP> JOHNSON: <SP> [...]And we also have Robert Kyle, the Senior Director for International Economic Policy from the NEC and NSC staffs, who would be glad to address questions you might have about the Iran and Libya Sanctions Act of 1996. So *if you would raise your hands if you have any questions about those issues*.  
<SP>VOICE: </SP> What about the extent of the embargo -- does this still cover companies which make oil equipment that they sell to oil companies? Does it cover the whole oil sector or only the exportation –

Reference	CSPAЕ WH96B
Illocutionary force	Request

<p>But between FEMA, the state OES and Secretary Pena from the Department of Transportation, Secretary Cisneros, Secretary Shalala of HHS, we're making sure that we're monitoring everything in the support of the state and local communities and make sure that we meet their needs. <i>And so if you have any questions.</i></p> <p>&lt;SP&gt;VOICE: &lt;/SP&gt; What will President Clinton be able to see if he goes around the area on Tuesday?</p>	
Reference	CSPAE WH96B
Illocutionary force	Offer

<p>&lt;SP&gt;HOOKER: &lt;/SP&gt; <i>If I may interrupt your conversations to convene us.</i> This is going to be a very busy day. We're discussing the Intellectual Climate Task Force report. Let me begin by affirming again my gratitude to all of those who were associated with it.</p>	
Reference	CSPAE WH96B
Illocutionary force	Order

311

<p>&lt;SP&gt;MCCURRY: &lt;/SP&gt; I guess the way to answer the question is we have not announced the subject of the Saturday radio address, nor have we ruled out that it might deal with the tobacco executive order. That's a way of saying something without saying anything.</p> <p>&lt;SP&gt;VOICE: &lt;/SP&gt; <i>If I could try again.</i></p> <p>&lt;SP&gt;MCCURRY: &lt;/SP&gt; Try again.</p> <p>&lt;SP&gt;VOICE: &lt;/SP&gt; You said you should sound like the President sounded. That was a couple of days ago -</p>	
Reference	CSPAE WH97B
Illocutionary force	Request

<SP>MCCURRY: </SP> Any other subjects? Excellent.

<SP>VOICE: </SP> South Dakota? *If you could tell us about that.*

<SP>MCCURRY: </SP> South Dakota? We had a little hint from White House Political Affairs Director Doug Sosnik that a possible stop in South Dakota was gaining in likelihood on the way back on Friday.

Reference	CSPAЕ WH97B
Illocutionary force	Request

SP>MCCURRY: </SP> Our intent is not to brief here further this evening. There will be someone available who attends the state dinner tonight with the President to give a quick color readout to the pool at some point during the evening. But otherwise, we don't intend to do any further briefing here.

Are there any other subjects that come to mind? Mr. Hunt?

<SP>VOICE:</SP> *If you could give us more of a preview of tomorrow's speech, more of a look ahead, a little bit of a bite of that?* How often is this done -- American presidents addressing the Diet -- and also the purpose of the thing to the Chrysler showroom.

Reference	CSPAЕ WH97B
Illocutionary force	Request

SP>DOSSEY:</SP> Actually, it wouldn't make any difference which one. The one came out. Yes, June 13th is probably the easiest one, but you did receive the first part of that earlier.

<SP>WILSON:</SP> Yes.

<SP>DOSSEY:</SP> *And if you have comments on that.* It was just the first part of the June 13th one. The June 13th just went beyond. It had the chapter 3, 4, and 5 portions added

Reference	CSPAЕ COMM597
Illocutionary force	Request

<p>&lt;SP&gt;MANDEL:&lt;/SP&gt; And that makes the point that even though everyone wants to do math in context, this is a decontextualized problem which can solve a variety of equity issues that some people have. So it's charming. And it gets pretty demanding as you go along.</p> <p>&lt;SP&gt;DOSSEY:&lt;/SP&gt; Okay. Now, the next is from Marge under G. <i>If you want to make a comment about what's here.</i></p> <p>&lt;SP&gt;PETIT:&lt;/SP&gt; The only thing I do want to make is that G and F -- under G and F, those are secured items. This is actually --</p> <p>&lt;SP&gt;DOSSEY:&lt;/SP&gt; Or G and H.</p>	
Reference	CSPAE COMM597
Illocutionary force	Offer

<p>I mean, there are guidelines that you could suggest that then will be looked at because the licensing contract has not -- I mean, it's just in the preliminary stages of the RFP. So all of these things that you are discussing, you can make as recommendations.</p> <p>&lt;SP&gt;DOSSEY:&lt;/SP&gt; Steve.</p> <p>&lt;SP&gt;FERRARA:&lt;/SP&gt; <i>If I can ask a clarification question because I think I heard on the second thing that you referred to, Clarence.</i> I think I heard it stated two different ways.</p>	
Reference	CSPAE COMM597
Illocutionary force	Request

313

<p>I'd like to announce that we will take a little break now until 11:00 o'clock. And we'll resume then. And the first person I have on the list is Ella Miyamoto, representing the PTA. <i>So if we could be ready to go at 11:00 o'clock.</i> Thank you.</p>	
Reference	CSPAE COMM597
Illocutionary force	Order

<p>&lt;SP&gt;SCHOEN:&lt;/SP&gt; I actually spent a lot of time writing questions for my son's sixth grade class last year.I wrote, in fact, lists of questions. But I waited about six months and never saw any of them used. So --</p> <p>(Laughter)</p> <p>&lt;SP&gt;SCHOEN:&lt;/SP&gt; I decided to stop doing it.</p> <p>&lt;SP&gt;DOSSEY:&lt;/SP&gt; <i>If you have copies.</i></p> <p>&lt;SP&gt;SCHOEN:&lt;/SP&gt; But I think there are certainly lots of good problems out there. I notice that the Zark's path problem came from one of the middle school programs, the Dale Seymour program. That was a good problem.</p>	
Reference	CSPAЕ COMM597
Illocutionary force	Request

314

<p>&lt;SP&gt;SCHOEN: [...] So we're very, very open to all of that kind. And we really appreciate your comments. Other questions?</p> <p>(No response.)</p> <p>&lt;SP&gt;DOSSEY:&lt;/SP&gt; Well, thank you very much.</p> <p>&lt;SP&gt;SCHOEN:&lt;/SP&gt; You're welcome.</p> <p>&lt;SP&gt;DOSSEY:&lt;/SP&gt; <i>And if you would leave comments</i></p> <p>&lt;SP&gt;SCHOEN:&lt;/SP&gt; Yes.</p> <p>&lt;SP&gt;DOSSEY:&lt;/SP&gt; Okay. Thank you.</p>	
Reference	CSPAЕ COMM597
Illocutionary force	Request

<SP>DOSSEY:</SP> Other questions? (No response.) <SP>DOSSEY:</SP> Thank you very much. <i>And again, if you have written comments.</i> <SP>FERGUSON:</SP> I do. <SP>DOSSEY:</SP> Is there anyone else who wishes to testify or provide information?	
Reference	CSPAE COMM597
Illocutionary force	Offer

<SP>O'NEAL:</SP> I would -- when I read this part, out to the side, I wrote "careful selection criteria needed" because I don't think we've elaborated enough on our selection criteria here. <i>And if we could get very specific about the kinds of selection criteria.</i> For example, when you were talking about excerpts, I could see going in the middle of the book.	
Reference	CSPAE COMM597
Illocutionary force	Order

The first 45 minutes would have a 15-minute block of multiple choice, a 15-minute block of perhaps five items -- 5-minute item constructed response, and then one 15-minute assessment and then the next day, longer items. <SP>DOSSEY:</SP> Thank you, Fran. <SP>BERRY:</SP> Oh, you're welcome. <SP>DOSSEY:</SP> <i>And again, if you have written comments, if you would please</i> <SP>BERRY:</SP> These are all from notes. (Laughter)	
Reference	CSPAE COMM597
Illocutionary force	Request

<SP>WARLOE:</SP> *If I could give an example of the problem I'm thinking of as being more open ended.* One of the ones that we had on our state test, was you have two 12-inch pizzas. One is 12-inch square, and one is 12 inches in diameter. The 12-inch square pizza costs \$13, the 12-inch diameter pizza costs \$11.

Reference	CSPAЕ COMM697
Illocutionary force	Request

<SP>LIBERSON:</SP>She thinks that there might be an echo.

<SP>MANDEL:</SP> Okay.

<SP>DOSSEY:</SP> *If we can move to opposite sides of the rooms.*

<SP>MANDEL:</SP> Right. Let's assume that they can. Do you know what the room name is?

Reference	CSPAЕ COMM797
Illocutionary force	Request

316

<SP> MANDEL: [...] So am I correct that you're not disagreeing with what's here, but asking for additions?

<SP>JARAMILLO:</SP> Yes. You're correct. *If you want to nail me down on specific points of difference.*

<SP>SEELEY:</SP> No, no, no, no. I just wanted to make sure that I was getting the gist of it.

Reference	CSPAЕ COMM797
Illocutionary force	Request



<SP>KIFER:</SP> I think there are three things that the table conveys, and that is the content strands, the process strands, and the item types, and those are fixed. <SP>SILVER:</SP> <i>If I could just make a suggestion?</i> I think it would be good to have -- to have that portrayal of that information, even though it's sort of -- it's scattered around the document in different places.	
Reference	CSPAE COMM797
Illocutionary force	Request

<SP>LORD:</SP> Okay, <i>if we could step back for a minute</i> , and then we'll come back to your questions on any of these subjects. I would like to just take a couple of minutes to put what has happened the last couple of days in the broader context of the President's policy toward this region	
Reference	CSPAE COMM797
Illocutionary force	Expository directive

317

<SP>HORTON:</SP> And then, on page 9 when you list those examples, come up with some that represent other groups. <SP>GREER:</SP> <i>If anybody has any titles of magazines.</i> <SP>VOICE:</SP> So are we also leaving out recent volumes need to be avoided? <SP>VOICE:</SP> I have one or two. <SP>MANDEL:</SP> If they are not --	
Reference	CSPAE COMM797
Illocutionary force	Request

<p>&lt;SP&gt;MANDEL:&lt;/SP&gt; I think they had strong advice that they should occur. I didn't hear them say that they should be an absolute edict.</p> <p>&lt;SP&gt;VOICE:&lt;/SP&gt; Right.</p> <p>&lt;SP&gt;KIFER:&lt;/SP&gt; <i>If I can clarify that.</i> What I heard was that they were concerned that were no indications of how people could calculate without calculators. That's why one should have one session without calculators.</p>	
Reference	CSPAЕ COMM797
Illocutionary force	Offer

318

<p>SP&gt;SILVER:&lt;/SP&gt; No. You didn't put it in here. But that's okay. That was not an attempt so much to -- I mean, it's okay to say that the circles and the square problems come from the Math Committee as attributing that version to this source. What I was trying to do in the source information I sent you was to trace that problem into some other source.</p> <p>&lt;SP&gt;SEELEY:&lt;/SP&gt; Which is --</p> <p>&lt;SP&gt;SILVER:&lt;/SP&gt; In other words, a kind of validation process.</p> <p>&lt;SP&gt;SEELEY:&lt;/SP&gt; Yes.</p> <p>&lt;SP&gt;SILVER:&lt;/SP&gt; <i>If you can show that this problem is very closely related to a problem that appeared on the Canadian mathematical olympiad or something.</i> (Laughter)</p> <p>&lt;SP&gt;SEELEY:&lt;/SP&gt; Yes.</p>	
Reference	CSPAЕ COMM797
Illocutionary force	Request

<p>The second part is where we delineate the big ideas that we see that are important in that content strand based on the NAEP thing. I mean it could be the bolding thing, it could be the -- and we might need to check with Cathy if you want to remember back what some of the first step bolds were.</p> <p>&lt;SP&gt;SEELEY:&lt;/SP&gt; <i>Or if anybody could bring that first sheet we handed at the Madison meeting, the Madison Hotel meeting.</i> We printed out a copy of that for the second day of the meeting. Okay. I guess I had heard a couple of messages this morning.</p>	
Reference	CSPAE COMM797
Illocutionary force	Request

<p>&lt;SP&gt;VOICE:&lt;/SP&gt; I think you get that literal translation that did.</p> <p>&lt;SP&gt;MILLER:&lt;/SP&gt; <i>If I can just make a clarification.</i> Both David and Wayne are correct. The only things that have been given so far is the fact that parents and teachers will get a score for their student.</p>	
Reference	CSPAE COMM797
Illocutionary force	Offer

319

<p>&lt;SP&gt;DOSSEY:&lt;/SP&gt; So we take a look at the algebra standards. They start on page 100 of the Xerox printout that you have. You might just want to open your green booklet to like pages 33, 34, and 35. And I'll try to at least orient you to what's here. And then, we can have a go at it.</p> <p>&lt;SP&gt;MANDEL:&lt;/SP&gt; Right. Is there anyone who somehow doesn't have that with them and <i>if you have an extra copy?</i></p> <p>(Pause)</p> <p>&lt;SP&gt;DOSSEY:&lt;/SP&gt; In the green booklet, the green booklet contains the framework. And it actually starts on page 33 of the algebra and function portion.</p>	
Reference	CSPAE COMM797
Illocutionary force	Request

She is the author of numerous articles and books on policy issues. She earned her Ph.D. in economics from Harvard University. *Now, if I could say a word about maintaining the office to which they have been appointed.* The CEA provides the President with the kind of objective macroeconomic advice that is absolutely essential to a president in making critical decisions, be they on the budget, on trade, labor, business, environmental, and a host of other economic issues.

Reference	CSPAЕ COMM8A97
Illocutionary force	Request

<SP>STRICKLAND:</SP> But I think that maybe we can come up with some ideas.  
 <SP>KAPINUS:</SP> Yes.  
 <SP>STRICKLAND:</SP> *If you can refer somebody to represent.* Marsha has requested her turn back. So –  
 (Laughter)  
 <SP>HORTON:</SP> No. But I think we are going to respond to the issues right on the floor now. So let me hold my remark until right after lunch.

Reference	CSPAЕ COMM8A97
Illocutionary force	Order

<SP>STRICKLAND:</SP> Let's take a break for 15 minutes. Okay.  
 <SP>STRICKLAND:</SP> I think we can start even though Marsha isn't here. Maybe someone else might have a point to make about items. *So if you would gather around the table.*  
 <SP>SCHRODER:</SP> I have one, Dorothy, one thought.  
 <SP>STRICKLAND:</SP> Okay. If you will give your attention to Ginny. She has a thought about the items that she wants to share with you.  
 <SP>SCHRODER:</SP> In the second paragraph, it talks about reading strategies, integrating information, etcetera. Do we want to talk at all about skills there?

Reference	CSPAЕ COMM8A97
Illocutionary force	Order

<SP>STRICKLAND:</SP> Let's take a break for 15 minutes. Okay.	
<SP>STRICKLAND:</SP> I think we can start even though Marsha isn't here. Maybe someone else might have a point to make about items. So if you would gather around the table.	
<SP>SCHRODER:</SP> I have one, Dorothy, one thought.	
<SP>STRICKLAND:</SP> Okay. <i>If you will give your attention to Ginny.</i> She has a thought about the items that she wants to share with you.	
<SP>SCHRODER:</SP> In the second paragraph, it talks about reading strategies, integrating information, etcetera. Do we want to talk at all about skills there?	
Reference	CSPAE COMM8A97
Illocutionary force	Order

<SP>STRICKLAND:</SP> Comments on that? She's right. It's organized differently though. And I would like to hear from other people in terms of whether or not they think it's helpful, even though it's redundant to have it organized in terms of the stances and so on.	
<SP>GREER:</SP> <i>If I could just say one thing.</i> Some of it may be redundant. Some of it isn't redundant. Some of it, you break out differently by stance and --	
Reference	CSPAE COMM8A97
Illocutionary force	Request

<SP>STRICKLAND:</SP> I'm deliberately holding you until I -- I think this is an important issue. <i>If we can hear from people who aren't as familiar with this material.</i>	
And we also -- Gloria, go ahead.	
<SP>GUTIERREZ:</SP> Well, I can see that when Jay just mentioned maybe it could be somehow in a box. We can bold it or something so that we have a regular reminder of what they really look like. It might make sense.	
Reference	CSPAE COMM8A97
Illocutionary force	Order

SP>STRICKLAND:</SP> You know, since you'll be chairing that meeting, could you follow up on that? I don't want to just leave it hanging in the air and since David isn't here - -

***If you would follow up with David and have David do it and ask if he would come to the meeting.***

<SP>HORTON:</SP> Can I speak, too?

<SP>STRICKLAND:</SP> Yes, go ahead, speak.

Reference	CSPAЕ COMM8A97
Illocutionary force	Request

<SP>STRICKLAND: </SP> Okay. Good. We have one other guest who just joined us. ***If you would introduce yourself?***

<SP>ABREU: </SP> Sure. My name is Rosa Abreu. I'm with MALDEF. And I was informed by our Washington, D.C. office that these hearings would take place. And I believe somebody from that office should have contacted you folks here.

Reference	CSPAЕ COMM8A97
Illocutionary force	Order

<SP>STRICKLAND:</SP> Once again, thank you very much.

<SP>ABREU:</SP> Thank you very much for giving me this opportunity to come.

<SP>STRICKLAND:</SP> ***If you have any written statement that you would like to share.*** We obviously have that, your oral presentation.

<SP>ABREU:</SP> Actually, if I could -- I don't have anything here with me, but I may have something.

Reference	CSPAЕ COMM8A97
Illocutionary force	Offer

<SP>STRICKLAND:</SP> We have at least two people with us today who are members of the committee, but who weren't with us the last time. Jack Pikulski actually was here yesterday, but there are new people here today. <i>So, Jack, if you want to introduce yourself to the group.</i>	
<SP>PIKULSKI:</SP> I'm Jack Pikulski, I'm at the University of Delaware and also currently serving as President of IRA, the International Reading Association.	
Reference	CSPAE COMM8A97
Illocutionary force	Order

<SP>STRICKLAND: </SP> Okay. Barb. And Steve, I just want to remind you, you're probably not aware, but there is a page under J which is a nondisclosure form for Delaware. <SP>FERRARA: </SP> Yes. <SP>STRICKLAND: </SP> <i>If you could sign that and give it to Matthew.</i> I think everybody else knows about that.	
<SP>KAPINUS: </SP> What I was trying to do -- I'm going to give you the semantics.	
Reference	CSPAE COMM8A97
Illocutionary force	Request

SP>STRICKLAND:</SP> We may come back to it again tomorrow and take a look at it. I don't -- and you're going home. <SP>MANDEL:</SP> Matthew. <SP>STRICKLAND:</SP> Matthew. <i>Now, if we could get this.</i> <SP>HANSON:</SP> It could be printed if it could be put up on the -- <SP>STRICKLAND:</SP> Yes. It would really be helpful for us to take another look at it if it were, you know, plotted out a little bit.	
Reference	CSPAE COMM8A97
Illocutionary force	Request

<SP>GREER:</SP> Because I am leaving, I wanted to put something on the table before I go. *If you could possibly tomorrow tackle the whole issue of the stances in the items and the relationship* because that is really -- what we did today and that chunk is really the biggest part of the specs in terms of having to try to make it really clear, don't you think?

Reference	CSPAЕ COMM8A97
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Illocutionary force	Request
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<SP>STRICKLAND:</SP> Well, it seems to me we need -- I'm going to get to you in one second. A recapitulation. We need to have Barbara to talk about the NAEP.

*And, Audrey, maybe if you could guide us through some of these psychometric considerations.*

SP>QUALLS:</SP> Back. No.

<SP>STRICKLAND:</SP> Okay.

Reference	CSPAЕ COMM8A97
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Illocutionary force	Request
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<SP>QUALLS: </SP> No. And aren't the extended performance items automatic?

<SP>BINKLEY: </SP> That is what we have been talking about.

<SP>QUALLS: </SP> Okay.

<SP>BINKLEY: </SP> *But if you want to substitute something instead.*

<SP>QUALLS: </SP> No, ma'am. We want to add to your tasks. We want you busy.

Reference	CSPAЕ COMR6A97
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Illocutionary force	Offer
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<p>So I guess on that level, I would value that in terms of the types of information I had to try to work with and translate for parents. I still think -- and again, you know, this is just my perspective. It's going to be a challenge for me to convince classroom teachers of this. <i>And if there is anyone who could call me and support that idea.</i> And I appreciate, Diane, your comments. If there are others, that would be great.</p>	
Reference	CSPAE COMR6A97
Illocutionary force	Request

<p>&lt;SP&gt;BINKLEY: &lt;/SP&gt; For example, if there are two passages in this session and I'm going to frame the first one and the kids start working. They finish it at different times. Do they all wait to move on to the second one?</p> <p>&lt;SP&gt;QUALLS: &lt;/SP&gt; A written test --</p> <p>&lt;SP&gt;BINKLEY: &lt;/SP&gt; Okay. Fine. <i>So if we're all agreed on that.</i></p> <p>The second thing is that I still don't think we've answered Connie's question which was what does it mean to read for a literary experience? And how do we elaborate that?</p>	
Reference	CSPAE COMR6A97
Illocutionary force	Request

<p>&lt;SP&gt;REED: &lt;/SP&gt; There are currently no -- no bullets on the market that can -- that would fail to meet a performance standard, but it's certainly possible that one could be manufactured. Police organizations are quite worried about the possibility. <i>If I could just explain the difference.</i> Under current law, a cop-killer bullet is defined by its composition, what materials it's made of, and based on a complicated formula.</p>	
Reference	CSPAE COMR6B97
Illocutionary force	Request

We'll do the first one, Resolution #1, and then Resolution #2. After Ron introduces the Resolution, I want to say a few words about clarifying, or adding some more data to this mix, and I would also ask us all to keep this conversation civil and as short as possible. *So, Ron, if you'd like to introduce this first resolution.*

<SP>LINK: </SP> Thanks, Jane. I think Carolina basketball is more important than major league baseball.

Reference	CSPAECOMR797
Illocutionary force	Order

So maybe, start with, Pat, *if you would like to introduce yourself*. We'll move around and do the panel members first.

Reference	CSPAECOMR795
Illocutionary force	Order

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<SP> LEWIS: [...] And toward that end, I printed out some questions off -- there is an exam apparently for ninth graders written by two people connected with NASA that was on the mathematically correct Web site, and another set of problems. *If someone could copy these and show them off.*

<SP>DOSSEY:</SP> Yes, I think in fact if we get copies made for everybody, I think that would be very good.

Reference	CSPAECOMR795
Illocutionary force	Request

<SP>REICH: </SP> *If I could just add one small point*, and that is that there are no signs of wage-push inflation. Last month, there was no increase in terms of the private, non-supervisory wages, seasonally adjusted.

Reference	CSPAECOMR795
Illocutionary force	Request

SP>ANDREWS:</SP> Let me welcome today Mr. Bill Moore for a special presentation. <i>If he and Dean Risa Palm would come forward</i> . Bill Moore is the founder and chairman of Trident Financial Corporation in Raleigh and a 1967 graduate of our MBA program	
Reference	CSPAE FACMT95
Illocutionary force	Order

SP>QUALLS: </SP> Yes. I can only have two seconds. And I can only talk once every two hours. (Laughter) <SP>QUALLS: </SP> Marilyn can't talk at all tomorrow. (Laughter) <SP>QUALLS: </SP> <i>Some way if we could clearly just stay on topic</i> . Maybe, you have to be rude. <SP>STRICKLAND: </SP> The topics today were more technical. And I think that the things tomorrow are going to be extremely important	
Reference	CSPAE FACMT95
Illocutionary force	Order

<SP>STRICKLAND: </SP> Okay. And I'm just trying to be a little bit more specific on the terminology where you want it changed. <i>If you could pinpoint that a little bit?</i> <SP>ORTIZ:</SP> Well, here it says, "including those who receive special education services, including English as a second language." And I would suggest we say including those special education services. They are really students with disabilities.	
Reference	CSPAE FACMT95
Illocutionary force	Order

<SP>DOSSEY: </SP> Your new position. Or we are going to be discussing the first thing this morning our response to the calculator issue which yesterday, we decided we were making no moves from where we were, but rather strengthening our rationale.

<SP>FERRARA: </SP> Yes.

<SP>DOSSEY: </SP> *But if you have any other comments?*

<SP>FERRARA: </SP> Not anything substantive.

Reference	CSPAЕ FACMT96
Illocutionary force	Offer

The approach was to try to clean up by providing a definition of what it meant to be similar and then asking students to see if they confused that definition. They might already know it, but to use it in this case. You're raising another variation which I guess we'll just have to decide which way we will do it.

<SP>DOSSEY: </SP> *Maybe, if you read it again what you said.*

<SP>VOICE: </SP> Yes, of course.

Reference	CSPAЕ FACMT96
Illocutionary force	Request

<SP>DOSSEY: </SP> Wayne.

<SP>MARTIN: </SP> *Fran, if we go back over this question for a minute.*

<SP>BERRY: </SP> Yes.

<SP>MARTIN: </SP> Because we're trying to look at tradeoffs between security and what would be best for students in terms of administering it without destroying the school's schedule.

Reference	CSPAЕ FACMT96
Illocutionary force	Expository directive

<p>It says thank your teachers. And it was a group of Broncos who were reflecting on it. Unfortunately, it didn't run again, again, and again, but in local – in locales where there people who are meaningful to the students</p> <p>&lt;SP&gt;KINCAID:&lt;/SP&gt; <b><i>If I can just say?</i></b></p> <p>&lt;SP&gt;DOSSEY:&lt;/SP&gt; Yes.</p> <p>&lt;SP&gt;KINCAID:&lt;/SP&gt; As it was listed it was sent to the local press. The maximum input was provided from students, parents, blah, blah, blah.</p>	
Reference	CSPAE FACMT96
Illocutionary force	Request

<p>&lt;SP&gt;MARTIN:&lt;/SP&gt; Because this is going to be a public document, I think I know what you mean by judging on the scoring.</p> <p>&lt;SP&gt;DOSSEY:&lt;/SP&gt; Under where?</p> <p>&lt;SP&gt;MARTIN:&lt;/SP&gt; Under the scoring rope. Judging to some people is not objective.</p> <p>&lt;SP&gt;DOSSEY:&lt;/SP&gt; Okay.</p> <p>&lt;SP&gt;MARTIN:&lt;/SP&gt; <b><i>So if you could say an objective scoring.</i></b></p> <p>&lt;SP&gt;DOSSEY:&lt;/SP&gt; The rubric based scoring.</p>	
Reference	CSPAE FACMT96
Illocutionary force	Request

<p>&lt;SP&gt;DOSSEY:&lt;/SP&gt; <b><i>If I could jump ahead there just on 101.</i></b> Because I think what we're really starting to talk about is what's the richness with which we want to look at using symbols somehow to represent an unknown, an object that we're operating on in an algebraic sense, as a quantity that varies.</p>	
Reference	CSPAE FACMT96
Illocutionary force	Expository directive

<SP>DOSSEY:</SP> Okay. Well, what we did is we went down and actually just did a show of hands on each of the bullets kind of and kind of just moved on rather than trying to get everybody into total agreement. *So maybe, if you want to give yours since you went for unanimity.*

<SP>BURRILL:</SP> Well, we went for -- if you didn't say anything, it was unanimous.

Reference	CSPAЕ FACMT96
Illocutionary force	Request

<SP>KAHN:</SP> That's one that rings a warning bell to me, knowing that in some school districts, the great arguments that have started are in asking students or their parents to fill out those kinds of questions. I listened to what she was saying yesterday. And I think for our purposes, that might be great. I think that's the kind of thing that will possibly in some areas raise the hackles of parents who might otherwise support this kind of an exam.

<SP>MARTIN:</SP> *Ann, if we limited that just to student demographic information.*

<SP>KAHN:</SP> Like?

<SP>MARTIN:</SP> Race, ethnicity.

Reference	CSPAЕ FACMT96
Illocutionary force	Order

<SP>BURRILL: </SP> Okay. *Let's start in Chapter 1.* Remember, you're giving to Cathy language or typographical or just construction things.

Reference	CSPAЕ FACMT96
Illocutionary force	Expository directive

<p>And if you have any other information that we could use to incorporate in our thinking, I think that would be very good because I as a teacher myself have often had parent-teacher conferences where the kids are interpreting my remarks to their parents. <i>So if you could read through the content and give us some specific suggestions that might move us forward in that way.</i></p> <p>SP&gt;BURRILL:&lt;/SP&gt; I would like for you to think about one other thing, too -- this notion that Shelley just raised about helping people understand conceptual understanding -- what that is.</p>	
Reference	CSPAE FACMT96
Illocutionary force	Request

<p>&lt;SP&gt;DOSSEY:&lt;/SP&gt; You have words of wisdom for us?</p> <p>&lt;SP&gt;VOICE:&lt;/SP&gt; I still have my general math ears, you know.</p> <p>(Laughter)</p> <p>&lt;SP&gt;GOLAN:&lt;/SP&gt; <i>If I could take a small break.</i></p> <p>&lt;SP&gt;DOSSEY:&lt;/SP&gt; Yes.</p> <p>&lt;SP&gt;GOLAN:&lt;/SP&gt; I have been working on some of the items while some of you were discussing. And I just find myself without a calculator on this side of the table.</p>	
Reference	CSPAE FACMT96
Illocutionary force	Request

<p>I would like them to introduce themselves to you so that you can hear from them and see them. <i>And so Leslie and Jonathan if you would just come up and introduce yourselves and say where you're from and what you're studying please.</i></p> <p>(applause)</p> <p>&lt;SP&gt;KENDRICK:&lt;/SP&gt; Thank you. My name is Leslie Kendrick and I'm from East Point, Kentucky</p>	
Reference	CSPAE FACMT96
Illocutionary force	Order

<SP>SEELEY:</SP> Which is pretty much -- the language is a little bit vague in the document. So you would say stronger language? It should say that the student and their parent would identify that?

<SP>DOSSEY:</SP> The student and their parents would be involved in that. *If we could turn to the comments.*

<SP>SEELEY:</SP> Just real quickly. There's another formula sheet from Texas that I got faxed yesterday, and I'll pass that around to put with the formula sheets that you got yesterday.

Reference	CSPAЕ FACMT96
Illocutionary force	Expository directive

<SP>DOSSEY:</SP> You've had circulated to you chapter two. It captures some of what we talked about. I'm not sure it captures all. It doesn't have examples in it. But I think, if you have comments on what's there, *if you could get those to Cathy by Monday, Tuesday*

<SP>SEELEY:</SP> I was actually going to be starting to work on that one on the way home, but I'll take comments on it through Monday or Tuesday. Yes.

Reference	CSPAЕ FACMT96
Illocutionary force	Request



## 10. Resumen en castellano

Esta tesis doctoral aborda la variación entre cláusulas imperativas, condicionales e insubordinadas introducidas por la conjunción *if* como alternativas potenciales para la expresión de significado directivo en inglés oral contemporáneo en sus variedades británica y americana, mediante el estudio de tres corpora computarizados. Dada la escasez de investigación previa sobre cláusulas insubordinadas introducidas por *if* en inglés, este trabajo presta especial atención a este tipo de construcciones y a sus rasgos gramaticales y pragmáticos.

El capítulo 1 establece los objetivos de este trabajo de investigación: en primer lugar, estudiar la frecuencia y usos de las cláusulas insubordinadas introducidas por *if* en inglés oral británico y americano; en segundo lugar, caracterizar dichas cláusulas como construcciones independientes tomando como base la teoría de Evans (2007) y los estadios de insubordinación que propone, así como las características de los Téticos ('Theticals') propuestas por Heine, Kaltenböck y Kuteva (próximamente); y finalmente, establecer una comparación de los usos de dichas cláusulas cuando su significado es directivo con el de otras estructuras con la misma fuerza ilocutiva.

El capítulo 2 caracteriza las oraciones condicionales en inglés tal y como se presentan en las gramáticas de referencia de inglés, dado que las cláusulas insubordinadas introducidas por *if* parecen derivar históricamente de éstas. Las oraciones condicionales en inglés se describen como casos de construcciones subordinadas prototípicas ya que son introducidas por una conjunción subordinante y dependientes de una cláusula principal. El capítulo prosigue presentando otro tipo de estructuras que pueden

utilizarse con significado condicional, así como el tratamiento que las gramáticas del inglés dan a cláusulas condicionales utilizadas sin cláusula principal. La parte final de este capítulo (sección 2.5) está dedicado al uso de las condicionales en distintos tipos de texto, tanto en el medio oral como escrito. Ford y Thompson (1986) y Ford (1993, 1997) concluyen que en muchas ocasiones dichas cláusulas se utilizan para mostrar deferencia y cortesía. Concretamente, las cláusulas condicionales se utilizan con frecuencia cuando un hablante quiere expresar desacuerdo a lo que se ha dicho previamente o cuando quiere expresar significado directivo. En ambos casos, las cláusulas introducidas por *if* se utilizan para mitigar un acto ilocutivo que pueda dañar la imagen del receptor.

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El capítulo 3 está dedicado a la noción de insubordinación. Comienza (sección 2.3) con una revisión teórica de este fenómeno desde el punto de vista de Evans (2007) que presta atención a los siguientes aspectos: (a) las etapas del proceso de insubordinación, que van desde la cláusula subordinada prototípica hasta la construcción independiente, a través de la elipsis de la cláusula principal y la convencionalización del tipo de material elidido, (b) los tipos de realizaciones formales que se pueden dar en la insubordinación y (c) la gama de funciones que puede realizar.

De entre los rasgos formales que Evans (2007) identifica para las cláusulas insubordinadas, el relevante para el estudio de las cláusulas insubordinadas introducidas por *if* en inglés es la presencia de una conjunción subordinante en posición inicial. Por lo que se refiere a las funciones de la insubordinación propuestas por Evans, estas estructuras introducidas por *if* en inglés parecen servir para la indirección y control interpersonal, puesto que se utilizan para prevenir un posible acto contra la imagen del receptor mediante la forma de un predicado posibilitador

elidido de entre las distintas formas que una cláusula subordinada puede presentar. Por último, esta sección discute también la relación entre los procesos de subordinación y gramaticalización, concluyendo que la subordinación debe verse más bien como un proceso de degramaticalización, teniendo en cuenta que parece proceder en sentido opuesto a los procesos de gramaticalización (de cláusula principal a cláusula subordinada y no viceversa).

La sección 3.3 aborda el fenómeno de subordinación desde una perspectiva diferente, la de la Gramática de los Téticos ('Thetical Grammar'). Desde este punto de vista, las cláusulas subordinadas se presentan como casos de construcciones que experimentan un cambio de la Gramática de la Oración ('Sentence Grammar') a la Gramática de los Téticos ya que muestran todos los rasgos definitorios de esta categoría. Este cambio de un tipo de gramática a otra se realiza por medio de la cooptación ('cooptation'), un proceso mediante el cual un elemento perteneciente a la de Gramática de la Oración pasa a ser utilizado como un tético. Desde el punto de vista de Heine, Kaltenböck y Kuteva (próximamente) pueden distinguirse tres tipos de cláusulas subordinadas: en primer lugar, cláusulas que se cooptan de forma instantánea y espontánea de una oración completa y cuyo uso puede ser puntual y restringido a una sola vez (sección 3.3.4.1); en segundo lugar, cláusulas subordinadas construccionalizadas; y, por último, (sección 3.3.4.3), cláusulas subordinadas formulaicas.

La sección 3.4 presenta la hipótesis de Lombardi Vallauri (2010) sobre las razones por las que las oraciones condicionales se subordinan con frecuencia en distintas lenguas. El resto del capítulo 3 aborda la subordinación desde un punto de vista interlingüístico. La sección 3.4.1 trata sobre las condicionales subordinadas en español cuyo uso

diffiere del de las cláusulas objeto de estudio en esta tesis; la sección 3.4.2, versa sobre las condicionales independientes en italiano y presenta las funciones que Lombardi Vallauri (2010) identifica para ellas, algunas de las cuales son coincidentes con las del inglés; y la sección 3.4.3 presenta el estudio de D'Hertefelt (2015) para el holandés, lengua para la que propone una tipología de cláusulas condicionales insubordinadas cuyos usos se asemejan, en ocasiones, a las cláusulas analizadas en la parte empírica de esta tesis.

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La última parte del capítulo 3 está dedicada a la bibliografía existente sobre insubordinación en inglés. Para empezar, se mencionan los tipos de cláusulas insubordinadas en inglés: (a) cláusulas introducidas por *that*; (b) cláusulas introducidas por *as if*; (c) cláusulas introducidas por *because*; y (d) cláusulas introducidas por *if*. Sobre estas últimas, en los estudios de Ford y Thompson (1986) y Ford (1993, 1997) se mencionan brevemente cláusulas condicionales utilizadas sin cláusula principal en inglés americano para expresar un ofrecimiento en contextos en los que la cláusula introducida por *if* no es considerada por los hablantes como incompleta.

La sección 3.5.2 da cuenta del análisis de Stirling (1999) sobre el inglés de Australia y de Escocia de lo que ella denomina cláusulas de *if* aisladas ('isolated *if*-clauses'). En su estudio de corpus, Stirling identifica dos tipos diferentes, el tipo optativo, utilizado para expresar un deseo o un lamento, y el tipo directivo. Por lo que se refiere al segundo tipo, Stirling lleva a cabo un experimento cuyos resultados la llevan a concluir que estas cláusulas son especialmente frecuentes en situaciones en las que los hablantes no se conocen entre sí. El capítulo 3 se cierra con una sección que recoge las limitaciones del estudio de Stirling y justifica la necesidad de ampliarlo

con respecto a la variación potencial de estas cláusulas con otras que se utilizan con el mismo significado directivo, así como al estatus gramatical de estas construcciones insubordinadas en inglés. Estos son, por tanto, los objetivos del estudio de corpus de los capítulos 5 y 6 de esta tesis doctoral.

El capítulo 4 presenta los corpus lingüísticos utilizados para extraer los datos analizados en este trabajo, en concreto, el *Diachronic Corpus of Present-Day Spoken English*, el *Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English* y el *Corpus of Spoken, Professional American-English*, además del procedimiento utilizado para la extracción y análisis de los ejemplos.

El capítulo 5 presenta los resultados del estudio de corpus por lo que se refiere a la frecuencia y rasgos gramaticales de las cláusulas insubordinadas introducidas por *if*. La sección 5.2 presenta los tipos de construcciones introducidas por *if* identificadas en los tres corpus analizados, mientras que en la 5.3 se explican aquellos casos que no se han tenido en cuenta para este estudio. El capítulo continúa con el análisis de las cláusulas insubordinadas identificadas en los corpus teniendo en cuenta su distribución entre los tipos directivo y optativo. De este último sólo se han encontrado ejemplos en inglés británico y de forma ocasional; por tanto, el resto del capítulo 5 se ha dedicado al estudio del tipo directivo.

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La sección 5.4.1 se centra uno de los aspectos más relevantes en el análisis de estas cláusulas insubordinadas, su estatus gramatical, y por ello, se presentan diferentes argumentos que apoyan su análisis como cláusulas independientes. Para ello, se ha seguido la teoría de la insubordinación de Evans, explicada en detalle en el capítulo 3. Las cláusulas objeto de estudio en esta tesis se han analizado teniendo en cuenta su posible evolución a partir de una cláusula principal que sufre un proceso de elipsis dado que,

como se explicó en la sección 3.2, este paso es crucial para el desarrollo de las cláusulas insubordinadas. Este test ha demostrado que las cláusulas insubordinadas introducidas por *if* en inglés no cumplen ninguno de los criterios propuestos por Quirk et al. (1985) para ser consideradas cláusulas elípticas y, por tanto, no pueden verse como versiones de cláusulas condicionales marcadas por elipsis. Más bien, este test parece indicar que las insubordinadas con *if* han alcanzado en inglés el último estadio de insubordinación propuesto por Evans.

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Asimismo, se ha tenido en cuenta la noción de cooptación, que es clave para el desarrollo de cláusulas insubordinadas en la Gramática de los Téticos. Ha quedado claramente demostrado en esta tesis doctoral que las cláusulas insubordinadas analizadas cumplen todas las características de los téticos presentadas en la sección 3.3, y que constituyen lo que Heine, Kaltenböck y Kuteva (próximamente) denominan cláusulas insubordinadas construccionalizadas.

Además de los ya mencionados, en esta sección se han aportado indicios adicionales para considerar estas construcciones como independientes y no como cláusulas elípticas. Para empezar, se han encontrado casos en los corpus analizados en los que las cláusulas insubordinadas rigen a su vez cláusulas subordinadas. Existen también casos en los que se coordinan entre sí y, lo que es más importante, con otras cláusulas que son claramente independientes, tales como imperativas e interrogativas.

En la sección 5.4.2 se tienen en cuenta los tipos de sujetos encontrados en las cláusulas insubordinadas introducidas por *if* de tipo directivo presentes en los corpus analizados. Al igual que en el estudio de Stirling, una gran mayoría contiene un pronombre de segunda persona, pero mi

estudio muestra una mayor variedad de tipos de sujeto que los encontrados por Stirling en inglés australiano.

La sección 5.4.3 se centra en el análisis del tiempo verbal utilizado en las cláusulas subordinadas directivas así como su modalidad. En el estudio de Stirling la mayoría de ejemplos contenía un verbo en presente o el verbo modal *can*. En este aspecto, mis datos difieren considerablemente de los de su estudio: en inglés británico y americano, la mayoría de ejemplos contiene un verbo modal, mayoritariamente en pasado, lo que enfatiza el carácter hipotético del acto ilocutivo en cuestión.

La parte final de este capítulo, sección 5.4.4, versa sobre la puntuación de las cláusulas objeto de estudio tal y como aparecen en la transcripción de los corpus y en textos escritos. En la mayoría de casos, se utilizan como cláusulas declarativas pero también se han encontrado ejemplos en los que se emplean como interrogativas. En estos casos, curiosamente, no muestran ninguno de los rasgos de las cláusulas interrogativas en inglés, tales como la inversión sujeto-verbo o la presencia del auxiliar *do*.

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El capítulo 6 da cuenta del análisis sobre la variación de las cláusulas subordinadas introducidas por *if* con significado directivo y otros tipos de construcciones que pueden usarse en inglés con el mismo significado pragmático. En la primera parte del capítulo se presentan los otros dos tipos de cláusulas que se han utilizado en dicho estudio comparativo. Así, la sección 6.2 se centra en las cláusulas imperativas, de las que se han identificado dos tipos: las que contienen un verbo en infinitivo sin *to* y las introducidas por el auxiliar *let* seguidas de un pronombre en caso oblicuo. La sección 6.3, por su parte, trata sobre un tipo en concreto de condicionales prototípicas en las que la cláusula introducida por *if* no tiene significado

condicional, sino que se utiliza bien para mitigar la fuerza impositiva del imperativo presente en la cláusula principal, bien para expresar algún tipo de significado directivo.

La sección 6.4 presenta la distribución de los tres tipos de cláusulas analizadas según su fuerza ilocutiva en los corpus investigados. De aquí se concluye que las cláusulas imperativas introducidas por *let* son las más frecuentes, aunque el tipo de fuerza ilocutiva que expresan es bastante restringido. Por lo que se refiere a imperativas y cláusulas insubordinadas introducidas por *if*, los resultados difieren según el corpus: en el *Diachronic Corpus of Present-Day Spoken English* ambos tipos de cláusula son muestran frecuencias similares; el *Santa Barbara Corpus* muestra un claro predominio de las imperativas; esta tendecia puede deberse al tipo de datos lingüísticos incluidos en este corpus; en el *Corpus of Spoken, Professional American-English* las cláusulas insubordinadas introducidas por *if* sobrepasan con claridad a las imperativas. Esta sección caracteriza asimismo los diferentes subtipos de actos ilocutivos directivos documentados en los distintos corpus, en particular, órdenes, peticiones, ofrecimientos, instrucciones, directivas expositivas y sugerencias.

La sección 6.4.1 muestra la distribución de los tipos de cláusulas investigadas de acuerdo con su fuerza ilocutiva, en primer lugar según el corpus donde aparecen y, en segundo, de acuerdo a la variedad geográfica (británica vs. americana). En cuanto a las órdenes, las cláusulas imperativas son mayoritarias en ambas variedades con este significado, aunque en inglés británico los porcentajes entre éstas y las insubordinadas están muy equilibrados. En el caso de las peticiones, aunque ambas variedades muestran preferencia por las cláusulas insubordinadas introducidas por *if*, en inglés americano esta tendencia es especialmente prominente.



Por lo que se refiere a los ofrecimientos, en ambas variedades se aprecia una alta incidencia de cláusulas subordinadas con este significado, a pesar de que en inglés británico, a diferencia del americano, el uso de las imperativas con esta fuerza ilocutiva está también extendido. Por su parte, las instrucciones se expresan mayoritariamente a través de imperativas en ambas variedades, aunque en inglés británico también se dan casos de cláusulas con *if*, subordinadas e subordinadas, con este significado. Las cláusulas introducidas por *let* son, con diferencia, la opción predominante para expresar directivas de carácter expositivo en ambas variedades a pesar de que, de forma inesperada, se han hallado casos de cláusulas subordinadas introducidas por *if* con esta fuerza ilocutiva en inglés americano. Por último, sólo se han encontrado cláusulas introducidas por *let* en ambas variedades para la expresión de sugerencias.

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La sección 6.4.2 se centra en el análisis de los tres tipos de cláusulas anteriormente mencionados de acuerdo con su fuerza ilocutiva teniendo en cuenta si el registro en el que aparecen es formal o informal. Como se anticipaba, las imperativas aparecen con más frecuencia en contextos informales mientras que las subordinadas se prefieren en registros donde el nivel de formalidad es mayor. Más en concreto, teniendo en cuenta la fuerza ilocutiva particular de cada tipo de cláusula y el registro en el que aparece, se han identificado las siguientes tendencias: (a) en contextos formales, se prefieren las subordinadas para expresar órdenes, mientras que en registros informales las imperativas son más frecuentes; (b) las cláusulas de *if*, subordinadas e subordinadas, constituyen una amplia mayoría en registros formales para expresar peticiones; por otro lado, en situaciones informales, hay un predominio, aunque no drástico, de las imperativas; (c) en el caso de los ofrecimientos, en ambos registros

lo más frecuente es encontrar cláusulas introducidas por *if* aunque con diferencias: en contextos informales predominan las insubordinadas mientras que en los formales, el uso de subordinadas e insubordinadas está equilibrado; (d) por último, para expresar instrucciones o directivas expositivas, en contextos formales sólo se han encontrado casos de insubordinadas, mientras que en situaciones informales, las imperativas son la opción predominante.

El capítulo 6 concluye con la discusión de un gradiente de formas directivas en inglés de acuerdo con su fuerza impositiva. Se han revisado las gradaciones propuestas por Aikhenvald (2010) para la relación entre cláusulas imperativas y declarativas, por una parte, e imperativas e interrogativas por la otra, para incluir en ellas las cláusulas insubordinadas introducidas por *if*. Sin embargo, sería necesario un estudio más exhaustivo de todos los tipos de cláusulas presentes en dichas gradaciones para poder comparar estos datos con los aportados en esta presente tesis doctoral y poder, por tanto, proporcionar una visión completa de las formas directivas en inglés.

